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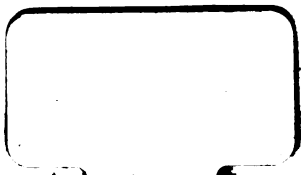
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# **Book of the Church.**





**The**

**JAMES B. DOW, PUBLISHER.**

**1843.**



The  
**Book of the Church.**  
*Abridged from Southey.*



BOSTON.  
JAMES B. DOW, PUBLISHER.  
1843.



THE  
**Book of the Church,**

BY

ROBERT SOUTHEY, LL. D.

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ABRIDGED AND ADAPTED TO THE  
YOUNG, AND FOR SUNDAY SCHOOLS,

BY THE AUTHOR OF

**Wreaths and Branches for the Church.**

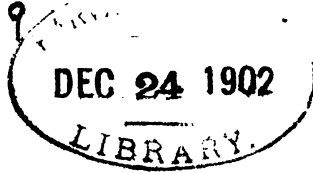
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"One Lord, one Faith, one Baptism."

BOSTON:  
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1843.

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TO THE

RIGHT REV. BISHOP BROWNELL,

**This History**

Of his Predecessors in the Apostolic Office,

AND

Of the Church which he Adorns,

Is dedicated in token of gratitude, for his constant kindness, to

ONE OF HIS FLOCK.





## Preface.

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THE first book in the Christian's library and the Christian's heart is the Holy Bible, in which is embodied the past and prophetic history of the Church. It is natural in closing this sacred volume to ask, How far the prophecies have been fulfilled, and what yet remain to be accomplished? When the disciple of our holy religion has learned from the Bible what was its foundation, and what are its requirements, he will be desirous to know whether the 'branch' to which he belongs, be indeed a part of the true

‘vine,’ and, whether it retain the same faith and practice with the primitive Church. Viewed in this light, Church History becomes a matter of importance ; and it is surprising that it is not considered more so, in the education of the young. Almost every child is familiar with the details of the American Revolution ; but many of those baptized as Christians, are ignorant of the struggles by which the Church attained its present freedom and purity.

The work now offered to the public in a new form, has been but little known by the majority of Episcopalians in America. The previous editions were too voluminous and expensive to be attainable by those, who, though anxious to inform themselves on religious subjects, possessed neither time nor means to devote to so useful a purpose.

If it be thought, that more judgment was required for the labor of abridging such a work, than is exhibited, my own fears will only find an echo. Where the *whole* was so interesting and important, it was a difficult task to *select* those portions which could be excluded without injury. There may sometimes be obscurity in the style, from the effort which has been made to preserve the language of the author, with as little interpolation as possible ; for the facts seemed to lose half their interest when divested of their beautiful clothing. Such remarks have been omitted as conveyed Mr. Southey's opinion as to the conduct of any sect of men, or the true merit of any contested point, without adding to the sum of historical knowledge. From no disrespect to the opinion of so distinguished an author, it was thought best, in narrating

events which are not yet viewed with freedom from prejudice, to give only the plain facts, leaving it to the judgment of the candid reader to decide as to the merits of contested points. Such epochs were the Reformation and the Protectorate of Cromwell, which cannot yet be viewed with the impartiality that is necessary to the truth of history.

With a sincere desire that the young members of our Church may obtain from this work the same pleasure and advantage which I have derived from its perusal, and a fervent hope that it may be the means of leading them to a more just appreciation of their exalted privileges, it is now prayerfully offered for their acceptance.

C.

Boston, November 22, 1842.

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# BOOK OF THE CHURCH.



## CHAPTER I.

### RELIGION OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS.

WE know not when, or from whence our forefathers reached the British Islands. Whatever their origin may have been, there is reason to believe that they brought with them some glimmerings of patriarchal faith, and some traditional knowledge of patriarchal history. Other tribes followed them at various times, from various places, and our forefathers, being ignorant, received the fables and superstitions of the new comers, and blended them with their own, till they fell, at length, into the abominations of idolatry.

Their priests, the Druids, are said to have retained the belief of one supreme God, all-

wise, all-mighty, and all-merciful, from whom all things which have life proceed ; and they held, also, the immortality of the soul. It is said, that they believed that the soul began to exist in the meanest insect, and proceeded through all the lower orders of existence ; ascending, at each new birth, to a higher form, till it arrived at the human stage. This lower state was a state of evil ; but when the soul had reached the human form, it then possessed the knowledge of good and evil, and became responsible. If it had chosen evil instead of good, it was condemned after death to an inferior grade of animal life ; but they who had chosen the better part, passed into a state from which it was impossible to fall, and there they were no longer subject to suffering, nor to change ; increasing in knowledge, and thereby in happiness, through all eternity. These were the conceits of the imagination ; and they who impose upon the people their own imaginations, however innocent, prepare the way for the devices of deceit and wickedness. Good men might have mingled these fancies with the truth ; bad ones feigned that there were other gods



beside Him in whom we live, and move, and have our being, — Teutates, and Taranis, Hesus, the god of battles, and Andraste, the goddess of victory. By favor of these, and other false gods, the Druids pretended to foretell future events ; for which service, they demanded gifts and offerings from the deluded multitude. The better to secure this revenue, they made the people, at the beginning of winter, extinguish all their fires one day, and kindle them again from the sacred fire of the Druids, which would make the house fortunate for the ensuing year ; and if any man came who had not paid his yearly dues, they refused to give him a spark, neither durst any of his neighbors relieve him ; so that he and his family were deprived of fire till he had discharged the uttermost of his debt. They erected, also, great stones, so cunningly fitted one upon another, that if the upper one were touched in a certain place, only by a finger, it would rock ; whereas, no strength of man could move it, if applied to any other part : hither they led those accused of crime, directing them where

to touch; thus, at their discretion, absolving the accused, or making them appear guilty.

When the mistletoe, which they affected to hold in great veneration, was found growing upon an oak, the Druids went thither with great solemnity, and made ready for sacrifice, and for feasting. The officiating priest cut down the plant, and the water wherein it was steeped was preserved, as an antidote against poison. The most beautiful of the flocks were selected for the sacrifice, and divided into three parts, one of which was the portion of the priests. But there were worse rites and greater abominations than these, of which they were guilty. They made the people pass through fire in honor of Beal; and offered up the life of man in sacrifice, saying they could discover events which were to come, by the manner in which the victim fell, the flowing of his blood, and the quivering of the body in the act of death. On great occasions, a huge figure, in the rude likeness of man, was made of wicker work, and filled with men. As many as were condemned to death for their offences were put into it; but if these did not suffice, the inno-

cent were thrust in. They then surrounded the figure with straw and wood, and, setting fire to it, consumed it, with all whom it contained.

Their domestic institutions were not less pernicious than their idolatry. Connubial love was destroyed, and the natural affection between children and parents. These were the abominations of our British fathers after the light of the patriarchs was lost among them, and before they received the light of the gospel.

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## CHAPTER II.

RELIGION OF THE ROMANS.—FIRST INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY.—PERSECUTION.—FIRST ESTABLISHMENT OF CHRISTIANITY.—RELIGION OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

WHEN the Romans established themselves as conquerors in Britain, the authority of the Druids was destroyed, and one system of idolatry was exchanged for another. This, though less bloody, and not so fraudulent as that which it displaced, was worse in its

effects ; for the fables which were related of its false deities gave a sanction to immoralities of every kind, even the foulest and most abominable crimes. Religion had no connection with morality among them, and this was the main cause of their degeneracy and corruption. The evil-disposed had nothing to restrain them but the fear of human laws ; and the good, nothing to console them under the keenest sorrows ; no hope beyond this transitory and uncertain life ; nothing to disarm death of its sting, nothing to assure them of victory over the grave. They erected altars to the gods of the Britons ; but when the tidings of salvation were proclaimed, they were kindled with rage, and persecuted the Christians to death.

It cannot now be ascertained by whom the glad tidings of the gospel were first brought into Britain. The most probable tradition says, that it was Bran, the father of Caractacus, who, having been led into captivity with his son, and hearing the word at Rome, became, on his return, the means of delivering his countrymen from a worse bondage. There is, also, some reason to believe that

Claudia, who is spoken of together with Pudens, by the apostle Paul, was a British lady of this illustrious household, because a British woman of that name is known to have been the wife of Pudens at that time. This, however, is doubtful, but it is said that the first church was erected at Glastonbury; and there is reason to believe the tradition, for it was not contradicted, when other churches would have found it profitable to advance a similar pretension. This building is described as a rude structure of wicker work, differing from the dwellings of the people only in its dimensions, which were three score feet in length, and twenty-six in breadth. An abbey was afterwards erected there, one of the finest of those edifices, and one of the most remarkable for the many interesting circumstances connected with it. The destruction of this venerable fabric is one of the crimes by which the Reformation was sullied.

The first man who laid down his life in Britain for the Christian faith was Saint Alban; so called on account of his martyrdom. During the tenth and most rigorous of these persecutions, which was the only one extending to

this island, a Christian priest, flying from his persecutors, came to the city of Verulamium, and took shelter in Alban's house; he, not being of the faith himself, concealed him from pure compassion, but when he observed the firm and fervent devotion of his guest, and the consolation and joy which he appeared to find in prayer, his heart was touched; and, listening to his teaching, he became a believer. Meantime, the persecutors traced the object of their pursuit to this city, and discovered his retreat. But when they came to search the house, Alban, putting on the hair cassock of his teacher, delivered himself into their hands as if he had been the fugitive, and was carried before the heathen governor, while the man whom they sought had leisure and opportunity to provide for his escape. Because he refused either to betray his guest, or offer sacrifices to the Roman gods, he was scourged, and then led to execution upon the spot where the abbey now stands, which, in after times, was erected to his memory, and still bears his name. There he was beheaded, and a soldier, also, at the same time, who chose to suffer with him,

rather than incur the guilt of being his executioner. Monkish writers have disfigured this story with many fictions, but there is no reason to question that the main facts are historical truths. Others of our countrymen, some few of whose names alone are preserved, laid down their lives during this persecution, which was the last under the heathen emperors. Christianity, shortly afterwards, became the religion of the Roman empire.

No records of the British church are extant during that age ; for the existing legends of the saints, who are placed in those times, have little connection with historical truth. It is known, however, that these islands did not escape the contagious errors which were then prevailing. Monarchism, in its first stage, was introduced, and pilgrims went from hence, not only to visit Jerusalem, but to behold and reverence, like a living idol, a maniac in Syria, who, under that burning climate, passed his life upon the top of a lofty column, and vied with the devotees of India in the folly and perseverance with which he inflicted torture upon himself. This, too, is known, that the ancient British heathenism

was zealously preserved, and propagated by the bards, and by the remains of the Druids, and mingled, by some of them, with things which they borrowed from Christianity. The heathenism of the Romans was losing ground, as their power declined, and the Caledonian tribes extended their invasion southward. When, to repel these invaders, the Saxons were invited, and settled in the land as conquerors, they introduced with them another system of heathen idolatry.

The Saxons, Angles, and other kindred tribes, to whom we are indebted for the basis and character of our fine language, were, at the time of their establishment, a ferocious people, but not without noble qualities. The heathenism which they introduced bears no affinity either to that of the Britons or of the Romans. It is less known than either, but has left familiar traces in our daily speech, and in many popular customs. Their idols, wrought in wood, stone, and even of gold, imply considerable proficiency in art. They had temples, a ritual worship, and a regular priesthood. Their rites were bloody, but there is reason to infer that the priests, when



they \*accompanied the conquerors hither, wished to mitigate, rather than increase the evils to which their fellow-creatures were liable in an age of violence, and incessant war. From the Saxons we derive the holy name of God; its literal meaning was the Good, and we must acknowledge the propriety of that reverential feeling which induced them thus to express goodness and divinity by the same word. They worshipped the sun and moon, the Thunderer, and Odin, a deified warrior, from whom the kings of the different kingdoms of the heptarchy derived their descent. Of the other objects of their idolatry, little more than a few names can now be ascertained. That of the goddess Eostre has been preserved in the word Easter, her annual festival having been superseded by that sacred day.

The change produced in Britain by the Saxon conquest was greater than that which took place in any other part of the Western Empire, when it was broken up. The Roman tongue and the Roman religion were at once swept away from the largest and finest portion of Britain, and the Saxons established

their superstition and their language without any compromise or commixture. The Britons were too high-minded to brook the forced and ignominious incorporation to which others had submitted, and, gradually retiring to the land of lakes, and to the highlands of Scotland, their language ceased to be spoken in the great division of the island, which now obtained the name of England, from its Anglian conquerors. The priests and monks withdrew with them, and Christianity, as a public establishment, disappeared from the kingdoms of the heptarchy for about a hundred and fifty years.

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### CHAPTER III.

#### CONVERSION OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

As that Gregory (who, after his elevation to the popedom was distinguished by the rank of saint, and the appellation of the Great) was looking at a large importation of articles, which had just arrived in the market-place at Rome, he saw some boys exposed

for sale like cattle. There was nothing remarkable in this, but he was struck by their appearance, their fine, clear skins, the beauty of their golden hair, and their ingenuous countenances, so that he asked whence they came; and when he was told from the isle of Britain, where the inhabitants in general were of that complexion and comeliness, he inquired if the people were Christians, and sighed, for compassion, at hearing they were in a state of pagan darkness. Being told that they were Angles, he played upon the word, and said, "Well may they be so called, for they are like angels, and ought to be coheritors with the angels in heaven." In the same humor he observed, on hearing that they were brought from the province of "Deira," that "de Dei ira," from the wrath of God, they were to be delivered. This trifling sprung from serious thought, and ended in serious endeavors for the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons. He set out from Rome, to become himself a missionary among them, but on account of the clamors of the people, among whom he was a great favorite, the pope was compelled to recall him. On his

own election to the papacy, he took the first opportunity of beginning this good work. The forty missionaries whom he despatched thither, became intimidated by reports concerning the barbarous kingdoms of the heptarchy, and halted on their journey; but Gregory enjoined them to proceed, recommending them to the French bishops and kings.

Political circumstances had prepared the way for the attempt which had been represented as so formidable to the missionaries. Ethelbert, king of Kent, had married Bertha, daughter of Charibert, king of Paris. Whatever may have been the vices of the latter, it is certain he was of a gentle and generous nature, a patron of arts and literature, and distinguished for his proficiency in Latin. The clergy, in that age, were the only persons by whom improvement could be brought about; and if Queen Bertha had no other desire than that of softening the manners of her husband, and the barbarity of his subjects, she would have welcomed the missionaries, on their arrival. But there was also the sense of duty to influence her, for it had

been stipulated, upon her marriage, that she should enjoy the free and public exercise of her religion. She had brought over from France a household establishment of clerks, with a prelate at their head ; and a church, built in the time of the Romans, had been fitted up for her use. When, therefore, Augustine and his companions landed in the isle of Thanet, they were sure of the queen's favor ; and making their arrival known to Ethelbert, requested an audience. The king was afraid of the miraculous power which the Romish clergy were supposed to possess, and therefore would not receive them within the walls of the royal city of Canterbury, but went into the island, with his nobles, and awaited them in the open air, imagining he should be thus secure from their incantations. They approached in procession, bearing a silver crucifix, and a portrait of our Saviour upon a banner adorned with gold, and chanting the litaný. The king welcomed them courteously, and ordered them to be seated ; after which, Augustine stood up, and, through an interpreter, delivered the purport of his

mission in a brief, but well-ordered and impressive discourse.

The king replied prudently, and not unfavorably. Their words and promises, he said, were fair; but what they proposed was new and doubtful, and therefore he could not assent to it, and forsake the belief in which all the English nations had, for so long a time, lived. Nevertheless, because they had come from such a distance, for the sake of communicating what they thought true, he would receive them hospitably, and provide for their support.

Augustine and his companions were accordingly entertained in Canterbury at the king's expense, and it was not long before Ethelbert himself became their convert. After such an example, their success was as rapid as they could desire; for, fortunately, Ethelbert held, at this time, that preëminence over the other kings of the heptarchy, which carried with it the title of Brætwalda. His nephew, who reigned in Essex, was the second royal convert. London was the capital of his petty state, and Ethelbert built a church there, in honor of the great apostle of

the Gentiles, where a temple of Diana had stood, and where successive edifices, each surpassing the former in extent and splendor, have retained the name of St. Paul's. Redwald, the Uffinga of East Anglia, was the third king who professed the new religion. He was unable to introduce Christianity into his own kingdom, because of the opposition of his wife and the principal chiefs, and compromised the matter by setting up an altar to Christ in a heathen temple, and mingling Christian prayers with sacrifices to the Anglian idols. Edwin, the rightful king of Deira, having been expelled in childhood from his kingdom, was then a fugitive at Redwald's court. Ethelfrith, the usurper, elated with success, required Redwald to deliver up the exile, tempting him with large offers of silver and gold. The infirmity of character which had made Redwald prevaricate in religion, now prompted him to the commission of an atrocious crime; moved, not by avarice, but by fear, he promised either to put his guest to death, or to expel him. A faithful friend learning this resolution, went immediately to Edwin's chamber,

and calling him out of doors, exhorted him to fly.

The exile would not again encounter the danger and anxiety of a wandering life. Resolving, therefore, to abide his fate, whatever it might be, he sat down mournfully upon a stone, before the palace, when a venerable person, in a strange habit, accosted him, and inquired, wherefore he was sitting there at that time? Edwin, somewhat angrily, replied, that it could be no concern of his whether he chose to pass the night within doors or without. But the stranger made answer, that he knew the cause, and bade him be of good cheer, assuring him that he should regain his father's throne, and acquire greater power than any of the Anglo-Saxon princes had before possessed; and he asked, in requital for these happy tidings, that when they should be fulfilled, he would listen to instructions which should then be offered him, and which would lead him into the way of eternal life. This Edwin readily promised; with that, the stranger laid his hand upon the head of the royal exile, saying, "When this sign shall be repeated, re-



member what has now passed between us, and perform the word which you have given.” The most probable solution of this strange story is, that it was either a dream, or that the person in whom Edwin afterwards recognized the gesture and garb of the apparition may have actually been in Redwald’s court, though unknown to him, and that it was a real interview.

Redwald’s nature was weak, but not evil; and, on this occasion, he was saved from guilt and infamy by the bare counsel of his wife. He bade defiance to Ethelfrith, and defeated and slew him in battle, though with the loss of his own son. Edwin bore a conspicuous part in the victory. It gave him the united kingdoms of Deira and Benicia, and led to more lasting consequences. He sought in marriage a princess of Kent, daughter to Ethelbert, and sister to Eadbald, who had succeeded him. The latter had cast off Christianity, because he was impatient of its restraints, having chosen to take unto himself the wife whom his father had wedded after Queen Bertha’s death. The three sons of Sebert, encouraged by his example, expelled

Mellitus, the bishop of London, because he would not admit them to the communion while they refused to be baptized, and they restored the old idolatry in their dominions. Mellitus and his companion repaired to Canterbury, to consult with Laurentius, the successor of Augustine, as to what might best be done. In despair, they are said to have resolved abandoning the island, and Mellitus and Justus sailed for France. Laurentius gave out that it was his intention to follow them upon the morrow, and ordered his bed to be laid that night in the church of St. Peter and St. Paul. In the morning, he appeared before Eadbald, and, instead of taking leave, threw off his habit, and exposed to the astonished king, his back and shoulders bloody and whaled with stripes. Being asked who had dared to maltreat him in that manner, he made answer, that the apostle Peter had appeared to him during the night, and punished him thus severely for his purpose of abandoning the flock which had been committed to his charge.\* It is added, that in consequence

\* Other historians relate, that in a vision, he thought the apostle commanded him to arise and in-

of the effect produced upon Eadbald's mind, he put away his father's widow, secured baptism, and prohibited the old Saxon worship, which, from that time, was forever abolished from Kent and Essex. This story must be either miracle, fraud, or fable. Whether Eadbald was, in this instance, the dupe of Laurentius, or, ashamed of his actions, had concerted a plan with the prelate which might account for a change of conduct, from that time he became a zealous supporter of the new religion, and when Edwin solicited his sister Edilburga in marriage, he objected to giving her to a heathen. A stipulation, however, was made, that she should be allowed the free exercise of Christianity for herself and her household; and Edwin declared that he would not hesitate to embrace that faith himself, if, upon due examination, it should be found holier and worthier of the Deity than the service of those gods whom he had hitherto worshipped. When, therefore, the chosen queen departed for the court of her intended husband, Paulinus was flict such chastisement on himself; which command he obeyed.

raised to the episcopal office that he might accompany her, in the hope of becoming the apostle of the Northumbrians. Gregory had selected fit men for the service to which they were appointed. Paulinus did not urge the subject upon the king, but left it to time and opportunity, making it his chief business to preserve Edilburga and her attendants from becoming indifferent to their religion in a land of heathens. He had thus obtained a character for prudence as well as talent; when an attempt was made to assassinate the king, and his life was saved by a Thane, who, throwing himself between his royal master and the murderer, received the poisoned sword in his own body. The same night, Edilburga was delivered of a daughter, and when Edwin was returning thanks to the gods for these events, Paulinus ventured to tell him, that it was not to these idols, but to the God of the Christians, that he was indebted for this blessing. The missionary had well chosen his time, for, softened by his feelings, the king yielded to the mother's wishes, and permitted Paulinus to baptize the infant, with twelve of the royal household.

The child was named Eanfleda, and was the first who received baptism in the kingdom of Northumbria. The king also promised that, if he was successful in the war which he was about to make, he would himself be baptized.

The expedition succeeded, and his vengeance was complete. From that day, Edwin never offered sacrifice to his idols, but hesitated concerning the new faith. He conversed often with Paulinus upon the truth of Christianity, and frequently retired to meditate upon the awful subject in solitude. At this time, there came letters and presents for him and the queen from Pope Boniface, whom Paulinus had made acquainted with the state of his mind. The pope invited him to the knowledge of that God who had created him, had breathed into him an immortal soul, and had sent his son to redeem him from the effects of original sin, and from the powers of evil, and to reward him with everlasting happiness. In his letter to the queen, the holy father expressed his regret that her husband should still remain in the darkness of heathenism, and exhorted her to pray earnestly for his conversion. The presents for the

king consisted of an under garment, and a certain vesture with an ornament of gold ; those for the queen, were a silver mirror, and an ivory comb inlaid with gold. One day, when Edwin had retired alone, as was his manner, to reflect upon the subject of these letters, Paulinus entered, and laying his hand upon his head, asked if he remembered that token ? Startled by this appeal, the king fell at his feet. Behold, said Paulinus, raising him up, through God's favor thou hast recovered thy kingdom, and obtained the preëminence which was promised thee. Remember, now, thine own promise, and observe it. Edwin, overcome as by miracle, hesitated no longer. He called his chiefs together, and required each to deliver his opinion concerning the new religion, and the propriety of receiving it.

Coifi, the chief priest of Northumbria, was the first who spake. " As for what the religion is which is now propounded to us," he said, " O king, see thou to it. For my part, I certainly know, that that which we have hitherto held is good for nothing. If, therefore, after due examination, you have per-

ceived that these new things of which we are told are better and more efficacious, let us, without delay, hasten to adopt them."

Another speaker delivered an opinion more creditable to his disposition and understanding: "O king, the present life of man, when considered in relation to that which is to come, may be likened to a sparrow flying through the hall wherein you, and your chiefs, and your servants are seated at supper in winter time; the bird flies through, entering at one door, and passing out at the other; he feels not the weather during the little minute that he is within, but after that minute, he returns again to winter, as from winter he came, and is seen no more. Such is the life of man; and of what follows it, or of what has preceded it, we are ignorant. Wherefore, if this new doctrine should bring any thing more certain, it well deserves to be followed."

The rest of the assembly signified their assent to the change, and Paulinus explained the nature of the new religion. Coifi then exclaimed against the vanity of their old worship, because the more he had sought to

discover its truth, the less he found, and proposed, therefore, that the altars and temples of the idols should be immediately overthrown, offering himself to begin. He mounted a horse, and taking a lance in his hand, rode towards the temple, and threw his lance into the sacred inclosure, to which his companions then set fire. The scene of this event was a little east of York, upon the river Derwent.

The new converts were indiscreet in thus destroying the most noted place of heathen worship in Northumbria, for the people would have been better disposed to receive the new religion, if they had seen its rites performed in the fanes which they were wont to frequent. A wooden oratory was hastily erected in York, for the ceremony of the king's baptism, which was performed there on Easter-day, A. D. 627. A church of stone was immediately commenced upon the same spot, including the oratory. The king's example was readily followed by the people, and Paulinus is said to have been employed six and thirty days from morning till evening, in baptizing the multitudes who flocked to



him. This ceremony was performed in rivers by immersion, according to the practice of those ages, before oratories were built, or baptistries constructed.

The influence of Edwin's example was not confined to his own dominions. But after obtaining an ascendancy over almost all the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, and endeavoring to civilize, as well as convert his subjects, this king fell in battle against the combined kings Cadwallon and Penda. But Cadwallon himself was cut off by Oswald, third son of that Ethelfrith whom Edwin had slain.

Oswald had found protection, during the reign of his enemy, in Scotland, where Christianity was flourishing. The isle of Iona was then famous for the monastery of Icolmkill, where all the learning of that age was cultivated. The three brothers became Christians during their exile, and Oswald erected the cross for his standard in the battle in which the famous Cadwallon was slain. After the victory, he sent for a monk from Icolmkill, and reëstablished the Christian religion. When his brother Oswy succeeded to the throne, the son of Penda married his

daughter, and thus Christianity was introduced among the Mercians. The king of Wessex received baptism, and, by Oswy's interference, idolatry was banished from Essex. Sussex was converted through the influence of Mercia, and thus, in the course of eighty-two years from the arrival of Augustine and his fellow-missionary in Kent, Christianity became the religion of all the Anglo-Saxon states.

In regarding this triumph of Christianity, a natural inquiry arises, why it should have been so easily established, seeing that its introduction into heathen countries has, in later centuries, been found so exceedingly difficult. This difference is to be explained by the very different circumstances under which recent attempts have been made, and the different character of the false faiths against which they were directed.

The paganism of our Saxon ancestors was not noted in their history, nor connected with their institutions and manners. It had no hold upon the reason, the imagination, or the feelings of the people. Without pomp and without pretensions, it had nothing which could

be opposed to Christianity. The missionaries appeared with a character of superiority, their claim to which was not to be disputed. They appealed to their books for the history of their faith, they taught an universal, instead of a local, religion, and they possessed in themselves a strength beside that they derived from their cause. They were men of the loftiest mind, and their sole object in life was to increase the number of the blessed, and extend the kingdom of the Saviour. With these advantages they began their work not rashly or unadvisedly, but upon a well-concerted system. They addressed themselves to the kings of the heptarchy, and when the kings were converted, the conversion of the chiefs and the people followed, as a matter of course. Every thing favored this attempt, and made it for the interest of these rulers to embrace the new faith. The heathen priests seem not, in any instance, to have opposed a determined resistance, and they nowhere acted as a body.

The change was beneficial in every way. The noblest of the human faculties were now developed, and the inhabitants of Britain were no longer divided from the whole world.

The clergy were not only the teachers of letters, but from them the ornamental and useful arts were derived. Churches, which at first were constructed of timber and thatched with reeds, were in imitation of the continental temples, built with stone, and covered with lead; glass for their windows was introduced, and church architecture, in the course of a few generations, attained great magnificence and perfection. Church music was also introduced at Canterbury, and from thence into the other kingdoms.

The seed had not fallen among thorns, and though some tares were sown with it, the harvests, nevertheless, were for awhile abundant. All ranks received the new religion with enthusiasm. Many kings, weary of the cares and dangers of royalty, retired into monasteries, and widowed queens were thankful to find a like asylum. The daughters of royal or noble houses found, in the convents, comfort and security, and youths of royal blood went forth as missionaries to convert and civilize the barbarians of Germany and of the North. The churches were frequented, and he, who preached at a cross in the open

air, never wanted for a congregation. Yet, uncorrupted by wealth, and untainted by ambition, the zeal of the clergy was rewarded by general respect and love. While part of them were studying the most inscrutable points of theology, others were employed in teaching babes and children the rudiments of useful knowledge, and others in trades and manufactures of every kind.

The conversion of the Anglo-Saxons aggravated, for a time, the hostile feeling with which the Welsh regarded the invaders of their country. Possessed of a purer faith, they regarded the ceremonial additions and doctrinal corruptions of the Saxons as idolatrous. In return, they were thought to have fallen into schism during the two centuries which had elapsed since the wreck of Roman civilization. They had, in reality, become more barbarous, while the Saxons had been progressive in arts and comforts. This inferiority they might not have felt, but aware of the strength derived from union under one head, they acknowledged at length the supremacy of the see of Rome, for the sake of its protection; conformed to its ceremonies and gradually received its corruptions.

## CHAPTER IV.

## RELIGION OF THE DANES.—THEIR CONVERSION.

MANY years had not elapsed after the full establishment of Christianity throughout the island, before the Danes began their invasions, which they continued till possessed of a considerable part of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, and, ultimately, of the throne. The Danes were of the same race as their northern predecessors in England, but far more ferocious; and their appetite for war and carnage was inflamed by a wild and fierce mythology. Upon the traditionary belief of their predecessors, an extraordinary system of fable had been constructed, by the Scalds, or poets, who may have originally belonged to the sacerdotal class. It was their office to record in verse the actions of kings and heroes, and these poems were recited at public ceremonies, and at feasts. Their fables became the belief of the people, and the accounts which have reached us of their system, are of undoubted authenticity. It acknowledged the patriarchal truth, that an Almighty

God had existed forever, by whom all things were made. To this was added a wild account of the creation, and of a race of giants and gods, with their former exploits and destined fate. Their history was to terminate in a general conflagration consuming the whole world, gods, heroes, and men. Another and better earth would then arise, another hero, other gods, and a happier race of men.

This mythology had grown up in the interval between the Saxon conquest and the first Danish invasions. The deified progenitors of the kings were here converted into beings wholly mythological; how much of the fabulous superstructure was believed, or intended to be believed, cannot now be determined. The Danes equalled in cruelty the worst barbarians of Asia, or Africa. On the death of a king, one of his sons succeeded him, and the rest were provided with ships, under the title of sea-kings, to conquer a territory for themselves. The land-kings made piracy their sport during the summer, and it was their boast that they never slept under a murky roof, nor drank over a hearth. Their habits were rendered more ferocious by the

character of their dreadful superstition. They taught, that all who died of age or sickness were doomed to misery ; hence, the greatest of all calamities was to die in peace. A bay in Sweden, surrounded by high rocks, is still called the hall of Odin, because it was believed to be the entrance to his palace, by those who threw themselves from the precipices. Conquerors were not content with inflicting death upon their enemies ; they craved for the sight of their torments. Olver, who abolished in his company of pirates the custom of tossing children upon pikes, obtained the name of the preserver of children. There were among this atrocious people a set of men, whose practice it was, before they went into battle, to madden themselves with rage, and then act like wild beasts in their fury.

It may be supposed that the rites of such a people partook of the character of their ferocious faith. Some of their ceremonies were obscene, others bloody. They sacrificed human victims, and in the sacred grove at Upsal, seventy-two were counted at one time. When we consider the cruel and corrupt nature of every pagan idolatry, we shall not



wonder that the early Christians ascribed them to a diabolical origin.

The Danes who settled in England, became Christians by position and contact. Alfred compelled those whom he subdued to receive baptism. The missionaries of the Anglo-Saxon church were employed in medicating the bitter waters at their spring, and their holy efforts were assisted by political events. They built abbeys and established bishoprics, knowing, that thus the improvement of the country and the civilization of the people could be best promoted. By this policy, by the steady system of the popes and the admirable zeal of the Benedictines, and by the blessing of God which crowned all, the whole of the Scandinavian nations were converted about the time of the Norman conquest. By the laws of Wihtræd, a sacrifice to the idols was to be punished with confiscation of property and the pillory ; and, by the laws of the great Alfred, with death.

## CHAPTER V.

## THE ANGLO-SAXON CHURCH. — ST. DUNSTEN.

THE church government established in this island by Augustine was that episcopal form which had prevailed among the Britons, and which was derived from the apostles, in uninterrupted descent. The dioceses were originally of the same extent with the kingdoms of the heptarchy; the clergy resided with the bishop, and itinerated through the diocese, preaching at a cross in the open air. Churches and monasteries were built, and lands settled upon them by royal founders and benefactors, and their estates were augmented by private grants. Long before the kingdoms of the heptarchy were united, a perfect union of these churches had been effected by the exertions of its seventh archbishop, Theodore, a native, like St. Paul, of Tarsus, in Cilicia. This extraordinary man was appointed to his high station when in his sixty-sixth year, for the youthfulness of his spirit seemed then to promise many years of activity and usefulness, and this expectation was fulfilled, for he

lived to be fourscore and eight. He brought with him from Rome an invaluable library, and founded a school at Canterbury, the students of which are said to have been as well versed in Latin and Greek as in their mother tongue. He procured the first legislative provision for the clergy in the form of a tax, of one Saxon penny upon every house which was worth thirty pence of yearly rent. This relieved the clergy from the distraction of temporal concerns, and exempted the tenth part of property from the ordinary course of descent. The cathedral was at first the only, and long continued to be the mother church. The first subordinate houses of worship were chapels, or oratories, erected by the itinerant clergy in situations distant from the cathedral, where field worship could not be performed during the greater part of the year. Parochial churches were subsequently built by those who desired the benefit of a resident priest. These churches were at first regarded as chapels of ease to the cathedral, till this dependence was loosened, and the tithes of the parish appropriated to its own church. Without the allotment of a house and glebe, no

church could be legally consecrated. The parochial priest kept a register of his poor parishioners, which he called over at the church door, from time to time, and distributed relief to them. But in that state of society the poor were not numerous, except after some visitation of war, and the cost of hospitality was greater than that of relieving them. The manse, like the monastery, was placed beside the highway, or on the edge of some wide common, for the convenience of the pilgrim and the stranger.

The attainments of the clergy in the first ages of the Anglo-Saxon church were very considerable. King Ina sent for Greek masters from Athens; the bishop of Sherburn was versed in Hebrew, and Charlemagne was advised to send students from Tours to improve themselves at York. But a great and total degeneracy took place during the latter years of the heptarchy, and the Danes brought on a swifter ruin. Their fury fell always upon the monasteries, where they found, not only the church plate, and the abundant stores of the community, but the moveable wealth of all the surrounding coun-

try. Scholars and teachers were indiscriminately massacred, and books were consumed in the same flames with the building.

When Alfred succeeded to the throne, there was not a single priest south of the Thames, who understood Latin enough to construe his daily prayers. As the best means of restoring learning, he sent for a colony of monks from France, but it was not till many years after his death that monachism again began to flourish, through the exertions, in part of Dunstan, one of the most ambitious characters in ecclesiastical history. There is no individual in English history whose life more clearly illustrates the age of monastic imposture.

Dunstan was born near Glastonbury, in the reign of Edward the Elder, and was remotely allied to the royal family. It was said, that a miracle revealed to his parents before his birth, how great a light was to dawn upon the world, and that the infant himself saw in a vision the work he was to accomplish. The real interest which was attached to the church at Glastonbury, had been heightened by various legends, connecting it with St. Patrick, St. David and the Holy Virgin. A stone oratory

had been added to the monastery, which was founded by King Ina, and a chapel built because of the increasing number of visitants. It was asserted, that one who was interred in the sacred ground of Glastonbury could hardly be condemned, and it was the undoubted burial-place of Arthur, the hero of British romance, whose monument was respected by a brave enemy.

Glastonbury was at this time mostly filled with monks from Ireland, and Dunstan was one of their pupils. A feeble body and a commanding intellect, predisposed him both for ardent enthusiasm and audacious craft. He was of diminutive size from his birth, and, by severe application to study, brought on a disease, in which, after having been delirious for many days, he was thought to be at the point of death. But feeling at night a sudden excitement, as if health were restored, he rose from his bed, and ran towards the church to return thanks for his recovery. The doors were closed, but he found a ladder, by which he ascended, and, in the morning, was found asleep in the church, unconscious how he had come there. They, who larded

the history of his life with miracles, assert that he could not have descended without supernatural assistance. The fact appears to be, that, in an access of delirium, or perhaps in his sleep, he had got into the church by some perilous mode of descent, which he would not have attempted if awake.

As soon as he attained the requisite age, he entered into minor orders, and was remarkable for diligence in his studies, for his various accomplishments, and for manual dexterity. He excelled in music, in design, in painting, and in calligraphy. His skill in these arts made him a favorite with King Athelstan, but a premature trick which he performed, was ascribed to magic, and he was banished from the court, by men who hated him ; they threw him into a marsh, leaving him, as they thought, to perish. Escaping this danger, he became a monk, and returned to Glastonbury. He there built for himself a miserable cell against the wall of the monastery, five feet long, two and a half wide, and not above four in height, but the ground was excavated, so that he could stand upright — though it was impossible for him to

lie there at full length. The door filled up one side, and the window was in the door.

When Edmund succeeded his brother Athelstan, Dunstan was recalled to court, but was again dismissed to his convent, through the influence of those who dreaded his ambition, or disliked his views. The king narrowly escaping from death in a stag-hunt, — in the moment of danger repented of his conduct towards him, and made him abbot of Glastonbury. After the king's death, Dunstan sustained the same favor with his successor, who would have made him bishop of Crediton. This promotion he declined, but the next morning related, that St. Peter, St. Paul and St. Andrew, had appeared to him, and chastised him for having refused to be of their fellowship, warning him not to commit the sin a second time.

Dunstan would in any age, or station, have been a remarkable man, but no times could have suited him so well as the dark age of priestcraft, in which he flourished. Such as the Romish church then was, however defiled, it was the salt of the earth, the sole conservative principle by which Europe was raised



from the lowest and most brutal barbarism. The prohibition of marriage was long resisted, and held in general contempt by the clergy of Britain, when Dunstan undertook the task of reforming the Anglo-Saxon church. It needed reformation in many respects, and Dunstan was supported in his intentions, by Odo, the primate, who was the son of a Dane, and even after he was made a bishop, fought by the side of Athelstan. Such Christianity as he possessed, had done little to mitigate the stern and unfeeling temper which he derived from his Danish blood, and he assisted Dunstan with all his authority in the enterprise which he had undertaken. Their object was to make the clergy put away their wives, to establish the benedictine rule in the monasteries, to expel those secular priests, who resided with their respective bishops, and introduce monks in their stead. This plan called forth a strong and well-grounded opposition, and their opponents obtained a temporary triumph, after Edred's early death. Edwy, the son of Edmund, succeeded his uncle at the age of sixteen. He was married to Elgiva, whose well-known story is one of the most

deeply-tragic tales in British history. On the coronation day, the young king, after dinner, rose from the table, and leaving his guests to their cups, went into an inner apartment, to his wife and mother. This act gave offence, and Dunstan, at the desire of Odo, went to bring him back to his guests. Instead of persuading him to return, they dragged him into the hall by force ; which outrage, together with the language used to Elgiva, so incensed the young king, that he deprived Dunstan of his honors, confiscated his property, and banished him. While the monk retired to Flanders, the party whom he had left in England, attacked the king, first with spiritual arms, then with open rebellion. Odo pronounced against him the sentence of divorce, and sent armed men to seize Elgiva, and brand her face with a red-hot iron. They performed their orders so imperfectly, that, when the wounds healed, her beauty remained, and escaping from banishment, Elgiva returned to England, to rejoin her husband. She was overtaken at Gloucester by Odo's people and hamstrung, to prevent the possibility of a second escape. Her sufferings

were soon terminated by death, and Edwy was prevented from taking vengeance by the revolt of the Mercians and Northumbrians, who, under Odo's sanction, set up his brother Edgar, a boy of thirteen, as king. Dunstan was then recalled, and his return was like a triumph. Edwy, after struggling for three years against his competitor, was removed by a violent death.

Dunstan had before been consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, and was now made bishop of London, and permitted to hold the see of Worcester. After Odo's death, the clergy opposed his farther advancement; but Dunstan was at length elevated to the primacy, and going to Rome, received his pall from the hands of the Pope, John XII.

The new archbishop was not sparing of miracles to overawe the people. While he was performing his first mass, a dove alighted upon him, and he said of himself that, whether sleeping or waking, his spirit was always intent upon spiritual things. His dreams were said to be symbolical, and so long as Edgar lived, such easy frauds were sufficient; for that king was wholly in the

hands of the monastic party, who engaged to defend him from the devil and his angels, and he bound himself to protect them against their earthly opponents.

But upon Edgar's death, a vigorous resistance was made. The widowed queen took part with the clergy, but Dunstan obtained possession of the young king Edward. The primate perceived that force was not to be relied on, and convened a synod at Winchester. When the advocates of the clergy there appealed to the king, that they might be restored to their secular possessions, a voice proceeded from a crucifix against the wall, saying, "Let it not be ! let it not be !" A second council was assembled without effecting any thing. A third proved decisive. The king was kept away because of his youth, but the nobles attended. Beornelm, a Scotch bishop, pleaded the cause of the clergy with great ability. His speech produced such an effect, that Dunstan did not attempt to answer it. "You endeavor," said he, "to overcome me, who am now growing old ; but I commit the cause of his church to Christ himself, as judge." At these words, the beams and

rafters gave way ; that part of the floor upon which the clergy and their friends were arranged, fell in ; many were killed in the fall, and others grievously hurt ; but the part where Dunstan and his party had taken their seats, remained firm.

The arch miracle-monger lived ten years to enjoy his victory, and his end was worthy of his life. When his death was approaching, a priest declared that on the eve of Ascension-day, he had seen Dunstan seated on his archiepiscopal throne, when a multitude of cherubim and seraphim entered at all the doors, and arranging themselves in order before him, said, "Hail our Dunstan ! if thou art ready, come, and enter our fellowship." He expressed his wish to remain longer, and they promised to return for him on Saturday. On Ascension-day, Dunstan officiated for the last time, and warned the people that the time of his departure was at hand. After taking his last meal, he fixed upon the place for his grave, and then went to his bed. On Saturday he died ; and, as the multitude attended his funeral, they beat themselves, and lacerated their faces, and the saint was deposited in

the cathedral over which he presided, to work pretended miracles, and attract pilgrims and devotees to his shrine. So complete an exemplar of the monkish character in its worst form, as Dunstan, cannot be found, because there is scarcely any other miraculous biography in which the machinery is so apparent. Whether the miracles were performed by the monks, or only averred by them as wrought, there is the same fraudulent purpose, the same audacity of imposture ; and they remain irrefragable proofs of that system of deceit, which the Romish church carried on every where, till the time of the Reformation, and still pursues, wherever it retains its temporal power, or its influence.

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## CHAPTER VI.

**CORRUPTION OF MANNERS AMONG THE ANGLO-SAXONS.—FOREIGN CLERGY INTRODUCED BY THE NORMAN CONQUEST.—PROGRESS OF THE PAPAL USURPATIONS.**

If Dunstan had been succeeded by men of similar talents and temper, and England had remained undisturbed by invasions, the priest-

hood might have obtained complete ascendancy, as in ancient Egypt. Time was not allowed for this. The Danes renewed their ravages; Dunstan's successor was put to death, and the learning which he had revived, extinguished. Such was the general depravity, during their short dominion, that the Norman conquest appears a dispensation of divine justice. Even the forms of Christianity were in danger of being lost, and one who had any knowledge of the Latin grammar, was regarded as a prodigy of learning. The clergy became the menials of the chiefs, who, instead of attending church, would have matins and mass performed in their chambers. A horrid tyranny was exercised over the peasants, who were sold to foreign slave-dealers, and no heavier afflictions could fall upon the nation than its offences deserved. After the battle of Hastings, William obtained easy possession of the crown. He found the enmity of the clergy so inveterate, that he excluded the native monks and priests from all dignities in the church. In the course of the next generation, among all the bishops, abbots, and earls

of the realm, not one was to be found of English birth. Lanfranc, an Italian, was selected to fill the place of Stigand the primate, who had refused to crown the conqueror. A man more eminent for talents and learning could not be found. His first measures gave the sanction of the church to the new government; he then proceeded to deprive Wulstan, bishop of Worcester, of his see. This exemplary man refused, at the call of the synod, to deliver his pastoral staff, but laying this sign of office upon the tomb of Edward the Confessor, addressed himself thus to the dead: "Master, thou knowest how unwillingly I took upon myself this charge, forced to it by thee. Behold a new king, a new law, a new primate! they decree new rights, and promulgate new statutes. Not, therefore, to these, who require what they did not give, and who, as men, may deceive, and be deceived, but to thee who hast given, and art beyond the reach of error and ignorance, I render up my staff." It was affirmed, that where he deposited his crosier, it remained, far imbedded in stone. Lanfranc, though a great man, was not scrupulous in his art, and



probably used this falsehood to avoid the appearance of being foiled by men in his undertaking.

Under a weak prince, Lanfranc might have borne a distinguished part in the furtherance of the usurpations of the Romish see ; but amid all the difficulties that beset his throne, William would not abate one jot of his rights in deference even to the imperious Pope Hildebrand. He forbade the clergy to go out of the kingdom, or acknowledge a pope, separated the ecclesiastical from the civil courts, deprived many of their lands, and subjected the rest to military service. Lanfranc felt severely the difficulties of his situation, but, by yielding where resistance would have been vain, he was enabled sometimes to defend the rights of the clergy and people, and William himself, had that respect for his integrity, that when he went beyond the sea, he left him sole justiciary of the kingdom. The favor that he possessed had not been acquired by any servile acquiescence to the king's will. One day when a minstrel exclaimed, as William sat at table, resplendent with gold and jewels, that he beheld a visible God, Lanfranc called up-

on the king not to permit such blasphemy ; and the flatterer was accordingly punished with stripes, instead of receiving the reward which he expected. Lanfranc rebuilt Canterbury Cathedral with stone, and annually bestowed in alms five hundred pounds ; a sum equivalent to twelve times the amount in these days. By his influence, no unfit person was raised to the episcopal rank, and the trade in slaves was prohibited, and two other objects of considerable importance were effected during his primacy. One of these was the establishment of one liturgy throughout the kingdom. A quarrel having arisen from its want of uniformity, that no further disputes might arise from the same cause, a service was compiled by the bishop of Salisbury, and introduced into all the churches.

It is to be regretted that Lanfranc, who was indeed the light of the age, should have abetted the fraudulent arts of the Romish church. Anselm, the person whom he thought best fitted to succeed to the primacy, had come to visit him, and returning to rest one morning after matins, he found a gold ring in the bed. No one in the monastery owned it but Lan-

franc ; when the circumstance was told him, he remarked, that the mysterious circumstance implied that Anselm would succeed to the primacy.

Gregory VII. may be deemed the founder of the papal dominion. His sanctity, the legends of the church relate, was prefigured in childhood, by sparks proceeding from his garments, and he affirmed that, in a dream, fire went forth from his mouth, and set the world in flames. His enemies, who vilified him as a sorcerer, admitted that such a vision was appropriate to one, who was indeed a fire-brand. By such artifices, his reputation for sanctity was established, and by his activity and talents, he obtained promotion, and was at length chosen pope. The use he made of this office, was to establish a system whereby Rome might again become the mistress of the world. A grander scheme was never devised by human ambition. Throughout Christendom, the wealth of the church endangered and corrupted it. Sees were kept vacant, that kings might enjoy their revenue ; and when not sold, they were given for favor to subjects, who disgraced the profession by

their ignorance, and habits of life. To prevent such abuses, Hildebrand claimed the right of investiture, and affirmed, that the church had power to give, or take away all empires, kingdoms, duchies, principalities, marquisates, counties and possessions of all men whatsoever.

This usurpation was resisted for a while, as boldly as it was attempted. A strong party was found even among the clergy, who sided with the emperor, while Hildebrand found partisans in the empire. A rival pope was set up on one side, a rival emperor on the other, but the struggle did not extend to England during the life of William the Conqueror. Lanfranc avoided all disputes with a king of his decided temper, and the same prudence enabled him to live upon fair terms with William Rufus. But upon Lanfranc's death, the Red King restrained himself no longer. He kept abbacies and prelacies vacant, and the revenues of Canterbury had been perverted for five years, when a dangerous illness awakened in him some fear of what might follow after death. Under that fear, he appointed Anselm to the primacy,

who would have refused the promotion, saying, "The 'Church of England was a plough which ought to be drawn by two oxen of equal strength; could they then yoke him to it, an old feeble sheep, with a wild bull." He characterized himself untruly, for his subsequent conduct showed no marks of such feebleness.

England had not yet made its choice between the two popes, but Anselm had acknowledged Hildebrand's successor. The bishops declared that, unless he retracted, they would not obey him as their primate, but the king soon after recognized the same pope, and they thought best to submit. The reconciliation was of short continuance. Rufus refused leave to Anselm to visit Rome, but thither the primate went, and was received with the honors due to a confessor. The pope lodged him in his own palace, and ordered that the English who came to the city should kiss his toe. He wrote to William commanding him to restore the archbishop's property, which had been sequestered, but his letter was treated with contempt. The matter was laid before the Council of Bari, who

replied, that William should be smitten by the sword of St. Peter, and the pope would instantly have fulminated the sentence, if Anselm on his knees had not interposed. Rufus perceived the impolicy of quarreling with a power which was not to be met in the field and opposed with arms, and negotiated a sort of suspension with the pope, which lasted during his reign.

Henry, who next obtained possession of the throne, found it expedient to conciliate the clergy as well as the people. The primate was invited back, and received with every mark of respect and honor ; but, on his refusing to do homage, the matter was referred to the pope. The messengers returned with an answer, in which the holy father supported Anselm's cause by the strangest distortion of Scripture. Such arguments were more likely to incense than satisfy a man of Henry Beauclerc's understanding. He commanded Anselm to do homage or leave the kingdom ; and Anselm, with equal firmness, replied that he would do neither. A second reference to Rome ensued ; two monks were deputed thither by the primate, three bishops by the

king. The pope, upon this occasion, acted with consummate duplicity ; sending letters, by the monks, to Anselm, exhorting him to persevere in his refusal, and telling the bishops that, as Henry was so excellent a prince, he would consent to his granting investitures. One party contended, that oral testimony might not be admitted against written documents ; the other, that the declaration of three prelates ought to outweigh the word of two monks and a sheep's skin with a leaden seal. At length, by Henry's desire, Anselm went to Rome to negotiate there in person, and the matter ended in a compromise, that no layman should invest by a delivery of the ring and crosier, but that prelates should perform homage for their temporalities.

The marriage of the clergy, was what Anselm considered as the most intolerable of all abuses, and canons, each severer than the last, were now enacted for the purpose of compelling them to celibacy. Married priests who refused to put away their wives were to be excommunicated, their goods forfeited, and their wives condemned to slavery. The general feeling was strongly against these

canons, and Henry, turning these laws to his own advantage, allowed the clergy to retain their wives upon the payment of a certain tax.

The efforts which Anselm had made in this cause, entitled him to canonization. His biographer asserts, that a precious balsam intended for embalming his body, having been spilt, there was so little left that it scarcely moistened the end of a finger when put into the vessel. When Eadmer held his hand for the last drop, the balsam flowed from the empty vessel in such profusion that there was enough to anoint the body again and again. The corpse itself, was also said to have contracted to the dimensions of a stone coffin, which by mistake was made too shallow. In this spirit of deliberate and systematic falsehood are the lives of the Romish saints composed.

A surprising revival of literature had been effected by Lanfranc and Anselm, and the schools of Cambridge are believed to have been first established at this time. The original Saxon churches were now generally supplied by more elaborate structures ; and the



introduction of painted glass for making larger windows, necessarily led to the perfection of church architecture.

The ensuing reign was as disgraceful to the hierarchy as it was disastrous to the realm. The bishops who had sworn allegiance to the rightful successor, violated their oath, and supported Stephen ; the legate approved his coronation, and the pope sent him letters of confirmation. Whatever the prelates asked, or Rome required, Stephen was ready to grant, and when Henry, the first of the Plantagenet kings, succeeded to the throne, the securities which his ancestors had provided against ecclesiastical encroachments had all been swept away.

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## CHAPTER VII.

HENRY II. — THOMAS À BECKET.

WITH many weaknesses and some vices, Henry II. was an able prince. He first procured the blessings of the people by suppressing the multiplied tyranny of feudal rulers,

and then applied himself, with equal determination, to suppress the abuses of ecclesiastical power. The most crying of these abuses was the exemption from all secular jurisdiction, which the clergy had established for themselves. By the laws, no clergyman might be condemned to death; stripes were the severest punishment that might be inflicted. A legend of that age marks the opinion which was entertained of their general depravity. It was related, that Satan and the company of infernal spirits sent their thanks, in writing, by a lost soul from hell, to the whole ecclesiastical body, for denying themselves no one gratification, and for sending more of their flock thither, through their negligence, than had ever arrived in any former time. There had been already, during the reign of Henry, a hundred acts of homicide which were not cognizable by the laws. To facilitate the reformation he projected, the king selected for the primacy, the chancellor, Thomas à Becket, a man who had hitherto resembled Wolsey in the favor which he enjoyed, and the boundless magnificence of his life.

Becket was only in deacon's orders, and had been soldier, courtier, statesman, any thing, rather than churchman; the boon companion of the king, his confidential counsellor, and the faithful minister of his will. The men in whom the right of election resided, declared it was indecent that a man who spent his time in hunting and hawking should be made an archbishop. They, as well as Henry, mistook the character of the man. Becket, on one day was ordained priest, and consecrated archbishop on the next. From that hour he devoted himself to the cause of the church, but the inner man remained unchanged. The costliest splendor was still displayed in his apparel; beneath his canonical dress, he wore the benedictine habit; under that, sackcloth well stocked with vermin, and within, were the daring spirit, the fiery temper, and the haughty heart. His food was of the coarsest kind; he flogged himself, he washed the feet of the poor, he visited the sick, and disbursed large sums in alms. He sent back to the king the seals of his office as chancellor, but withheld his resignation of the archdeaconry, the richest

benefice in England, until it was forced from him.

One of the first acts of the new archbishop was to institute proceedings for the recovery of church lands, and, on that ground, sought to recover castles, towers, and manors, from the barons, and even from the crown itself. He excommunicated a lord who refused to let a clergyman, whom he had appointed, take possession of a benefice, and when the king ordered him to withdraw the sentence, haughtily refused, till, after a warm contention, he was obliged to yield.

Henry found, too late, that in his plans for reform, he had to encounter opposition where he looked for assistance. When he demanded that a priest, guilty of murder and seduction, should be brought before a civil tribunal, Becket placed the culprit under custody of his diocesan, that he might not be delivered to the king's justice. Henry summoned the bishops, and required that, in future, clerical offenders, accused of heinous crimes, should be delivered into the hands of the bishop, and if by him found guilty, be degraded, and then transferred to the civil power for punishment,

The prelates would have assented to this reasonable proposal, but Becket persuaded them to answer, that no clergyman ought to suffer death for any crime whatever, nor be judged in a secular court. Henry, provoked at such a reply, demanded of them whether they would obey the ancient customs of the realm. Becket answered, "saving the privileges of his order." The king remarked, that there was venom in the exception; the dispute continued all day, and Henry left the hall in anger.

When the prelates reconsidered the matter, they felt the justice of the king's pretensions, and, aided by the representations of his friends, and the pope's almoner, persuaded Becket to wait on the king, at Woodstock, and tell him he would observe the royal customs. Henry received him not with the cordial affability of former times, but expressed his satisfaction at the promise, and only required that Becket should repeat it before the great council of the realm.

When, therefore, the parliament met, and Henry called upon the bishops for that unqualified promise of observing the customs,

Becket again required that it should be made with the saving clause. In resentment at the deception practised upon him, Henry gave loose to the natural violence of his disposition, and uttered threats, which, if they did not make the primate tremble for himself, made others tremble for him. His friends, weeping, supplicated him on their knees, to have some regard to himself, and some pity for the clergy. Becket's heart was not susceptible of fear, but moved by the generous anxiety expressed concerning his fate, he promised, on the word of truth, that he would observe the ancient customs of the realm. It was then ordered, that such of the assembly as knew the customs best, should put them in writing.

These customs, now reduced to writing, were called, "the Constitutions of Clarendon." The most important articles were, that ecclesiastics should answer in the secular courts for secular matters, and in the spiritual ones for cases within the spiritual jurisdiction. No prelate might leave the realm without the king's permission, and appeals were to proceed from the archdeacon to the bishop;

from the bishop to the archbishop, and thence to the king. Bishoprics and monasteries of royal foundation should be in the hands of the king, while vacant, and the person elected should do homage before he was consecrated.

This declaration and recognition of the existing laws was laid before parliament, and the prelates were then required to set their seals to the record. Becket alone demurred, and asked time for consideration, which was granted. Whether he afterwards sealed to it has not been stated, but it may be presumed that he did ; and, in so doing, he acted with a deceitfulness for which an excuse can be found only in the convenient casuistry of his own church. After imposing upon himself a penance for this sin, from which the pope absolved him, Becket repaired to Woodstock, and solicited audience. Henry had been informed that Becket had spoken contemptuously of his infirm and irritable temper, and refused to see him. Such displeasure afforded Becket a pretext for taking the course which was most in unison with his own feelings. He sent an agent to the French king, and embarked, by night, for France. The

sailors would not expose themselves to danger by carrying him, and he returned to Canterbury just in time to prevent the seizure of his possessions. Henry, alarmed at this attempt, received him mildly, when he appeared again at Woodstock, and asked, as if in sport, "if the same land could not contain them both." Becket, on returning from this interview, said "he must either yield with shame, or combat manfully." He began to act boldly in defiance of the Constitutions of Clarendon, and when the great council was summoned at Northampton, the king was inaccessible to him, and refused to receive from him the customary kiss of peace. The first accusation here brought against Becket was, that he had refused justice to an officer of the household, and disobeyed the summons to answer for his conduct before the king. For this offence, five hundred pounds were exacted, for which he gave sureties for the payment. On the following day, the king called upon Becket for three hundred pounds, which he had received as warden of the king's castles. For this, and another unjust demand, he also gave security.



But Henry's determination to crush him was more fully displayed on the third day, when he called upon him for an account of all the moneys which he had received during the chancellorship, and demanded payment of the balance. His answer was, that Prince Henry, the king's eldest son, had discharged him from all such demands, previous to his consecration, and, as so discharged, the church received him. The sum claimed was the enormous one of forty-four thousand marks of silver; but he was advised to compound, and offered two thousand, which were, of course, refused. The bishop of London advised him to resign the primacy, which, if he did, the king might be moved to reinstate him in his possessions. The bishop of Worcester said, he would not belie his conscience by saying that the cure of souls might be resigned for the sake of pleasing a prince. The only person who supported Becket was Henry of Winchester, brother of the late king, a man of great ability and courage. Perceiving how little help he was likely to find in his brethren, Becket desired to speak with the earls of Leicester and Cornwall,

and requested a respite till Monday, when he promised to make his answer to the demand as God should inspire him.

Becket was one of those men whose true greatness is seen only in times of difficulty and danger. His heart was never stronger ; but the body gave way, so that when Monday came, he was unable to leave his bed. The illness was said to be feigned, but the two earls deputed to cite him before parliament, saw that it was real, and a respite was granted. Feeling himself in the situation of an injured man, as the primate now did, his heart was softened and elevated. His determination was made to connect his cause with that of the church, and to act or suffer in that spirit. On the morning appointed for the renewal of his trial, he went into the church, and there, at St. Stephen's altar, performed the mass appointed for that martyr's day. Then, having secretly provided himself with a consecrated wafer, he proceeded to the great council, and, at the door, took the silver cross from the chaplain, who, according to custom, was bearing it before him. Thus armed, he passed on in spite of

reproof and entreaty, and entering the assembly, took his seat in silence, holding the cross before him. This measure was as judicious as it was bold. Henry, hearing in what attitude the primate was approaching, retired hastily into an inner room, where he summoned all the other lords, spiritual and temporal. The bishop of Exeter, who saw to what a pitch Henry's violent temper was exasperated, hastened fearfully to the primate, and besought him to have pity upon himself and his brethren. Becket, eyeing him with stern contempt, remained unmoved, holding the cross, and awaiting what might befall. The great council were of opinion that Becket ought to be impeached of perjury and of high treason. Henry rejected their opinion, and sent to demand of the primate whether he would stand to the judgment of the court upon the pecuniary charges. Becket peremptorily refused, and the bishops besought the king that he would let them appeal to Rome against the primate, on the score of his perjury, to which the king unwarily consented. When this decision was

reported to Becket, his only reply was, "I hear what you say."

Meantime, the temporal peers pronounced him guilty of perjury and treason; the alternative of rendering his accounts, and discharging the balance, was still allowed him. Leicester called upon him to do this, or hear his sentence. "My sentence!" exclaimed Becket, rising from his seat; "nay, sir earl, hear you first. It was asked at my election, in presence of Prince Henry, unto whom that charge had been committed, in what manner I was given to the church? And the answer was, Free, and discharged from all bonds of the court. Therefore, I am not bound to answer concerning these things, nor will I. The king's judgment and yours, and all other, I disclaim, being only to be judged, under God, by our lord, the pope, to whom I appeal, and before whom I cite you, my fellow-bishops, who have chosen to obey man rather than God. Relying on the authority of the apostolic church and the Catholic, I depart hence." As he was leaving the hall, a clamor was raised against him, upon which he looked fiercely round, and

said he would "defend himself by arms, if it were not forbidden by his holy orders." No further attempt was made at detaining him, and the beggars and poorer clergy followed him to his home in crowds, where they were entertained as his guests. He next requested permission to leave the kingdom, but deeming it imprudent to await Henry's reply, effected his escape to the coast of Flanders. The king forbore from seizing his possessions, and despatched ambassadors to the king of France, and to the pope, whose good will he wished to conciliate. The French king assured him that he would receive him as a partner in his kingdom, and when the ambassadors from Henry requested that the *late archbishop*, who had fled from England like a traitor, should not be admitted into his territories, he repeated, "*late archbishop*," demanding who had deposed him. So warmly, indeed, did Louis take up the cause of Becket, that he despatched his almoner to the pope, exhorting him to support the archbishop of Canterbury against the English tyrant.

The noble ambassadors proceeded to Sens,

where Alexander III. at that time resided. What they solicited was, that his holiness would send the archbishop back to England, and appoint legates to judge him there. Legates, Alexander said, they should have, "but when the archbishop is judged, it shall be by ourselves." Becket arrived at Sens soon afterwards, where the pope gave him public audience, and seated him at his right hand. There had been a leaning towards Henry, on the side of the cardinals, but when the Constitutions of Clarendon were produced, with one accord they pronounced that, in Becket's person, the cause of the universal Catholic church should be supported. On the following day, Becket appeared before the pope and the cardinals, and acknowledged that he had not ascended into the church of Christ by the true door. He now resigned his see into the holy father's hands, and, taking off the episcopal ring, delivered it to the pope. Some were of opinion that the resignation ought to be accepted, as a happy means of terminating the dispute, that if Becket were permitted to fall a sacrifice, all other bishops would fall with him, and the papal authority would

perish. With warm expressions of attachment, he restored the symbol of office to the primate, and assured him of his forgiveness for his former faults. That he might now learn the lessons which poverty alone could teach, the pope commended him to the abbot of Pontigny, in whose monastery he might live as became a banished man, and a champion of our Lord.

The conduct of the pope irritated Henry, and he gave orders for stopping the payment of the annual contribution, known as "Peter's pence." He sequestered the primate's estates, and banished all his kinsmen, friends, and dependents, to the number of nearly four hundred persons, without respect to sex or age, confiscating their estates, and compelling them to repair to him, wherever he might be. This act of inhumanity called forth an outcry of indignation, and a display of ostentatious generosity. They were liberally maintained by those who supported the papal cause, especially the king of France and the queen of Sicily. He resolved to send ambassadors to Alexander, requiring him to rid him of Becket, otherwise he and his clergy would

no longer obey him ; so near was the Church of England, at this time, to a separation. The pope answered the king in a manner which might be deemed dignified, if it were justified by the occasion. "To succor the exiled and oppressed," he said, "was the privilege of the apostolic see." He appointed Becket as his legate to England, an act not less flagrantly improper, than gratuitously offensive to the king.

Already, from his retirement at Pontigny, Becket had addressed letters, monitory and comminatory to the king. To the clergy, he said, "Arise, why sleep ye? Unsheathe the sword of Peter! Avenge the injuries of the church! cry aloud! cease not." So apprehensive was Henry of what was to ensue, that he complained to his counsellors, with tears and violent emotion, that Becket "tore his body and soul." A Norman bishop advised him to appeal to the pope, and to this he consented. Before the bishops appointed to notify this appeal to Becket had arrived, he had commenced the spiritual war. After various vigils before the shrines of different saints, he prepared, on the ensuing Whitsun-



day, to thunder out his censures. A message from the king of France, announcing that Henry was dangerously ill, withheld him from this extremity, but to every thing short of it, he proceeded. In what strain he preached, we know not, but in what temper, is too plain. The bells tolled, the crosses were inverted, and the impious form of excommunication was pronounced against John of Oxford, against the archdeacon of Poitiers, and against three persons to whom part of his sequestered goods had been granted; and, finally, against Joceline de Baliol, and the chief justiciary. This ceremony closed, by pronouncing a wish that the souls of those whom he delivered to perdition, might, in like manner, be quenched in hell. He also excommunicated all who should abet, enforce, or obey them, and, calling upon the king to atone for the wrongs which he had committed, threatened him with a similar sentence.

Excommunication had been practised by the Druids, but the ceremonies could not, originally, have been so revolting, so horrible, as those now practised. In the forms of malediction, a curse was pronounced against

the obnoxious persons, in soul and in body, at home and abroad, by land and by water, sleeping and waking, by day and by night, in all places and at all times, everywhere and always. God was invoked, in this accursed service, to afflict them with hunger and thirst, with poverty and want, with cold and with fever, with sickness, with blindness and madness; to make their wives widows, and their children orphans and beggars. Every thing belonging to them was to be cursed, and none must compassionate their sufferings, or visit them in sickness. Prayers and benedictions were to operate as further curses; and, finally, their dead bodies were to be cast aside for dogs and wolves; and their souls to be eternally tormented in fire everlasting.

This was the sentence with which Becket threatened the king, and the next step would be, to pronounce deposition against him; and that sentence, while it endangered him in England, would, in all probability, deprive him of his continental territories. There was another measure, too, even more to be dreaded, of which Henry stood in fear, which

could not fail to shake the allegiance of his subjects. The effect of an *interdict* was to suspend all religious forms, usages, and sacraments, excepting baptism of infants, and confession to the dying. No priest might officiate in public or private; the dead were deprived of Christian burial, and the living could contract no marriages. This was the most effectual device of the papal church for breaking the bonds of loyalty. Expecting that Becket would have recourse to it, Henry gave instructions that all the ports should be watched, and ordered, that any one who brought over, promulgated, or obeyed letters of interdict, should be severely punished. He announced that, if the Cistercians of Pontigny continued to protect the traitor, their order should be expelled from his dominions. Becket showed his generosity by withdrawing from their convent, and Louis despatched an escort to attend him, inviting him to choose an asylum in any part of his dominions. He fixed upon the convent of St. Columba, by the city of Sens, and was received there with public honors.

John of Oxford, the excommunicated, ob-

tained absolution for himself, and, resigning his deanery to the pope, received it again from his appointment. Alexander also deputed two cardinals as his legates in the king's continental territories, with full powers to absolve the excommunicated persons. When the pope notified these concessions to the king, he enjoined him to keep the letter secret. The messengers also brought back with them the letters which Becket and his friends had written to the pope.

When the primate was apprised of the conduct of the papal court, he said, that "not only himself, but the English and Gallican churches were strangled." The aid before given to his unhappy kinsmen and dependents, was withdrawn by the French nobles and bishops, and some of these poor people died of cold and hunger. Becket implored Alexander to take means for preserving the rest from the same fate. He represented to him, that if Henry succeeded, other princes would extort the like emancipation from the church, and called upon him to clear his own honor, which was now obscured.

These representations were strongly aided

by the king of France, and Alexander restricted the power of his legates, whom he now deputed rather as mediators, than judges. Becket would not concede the slightest point; and while one party was so intractable, nothing could be done by mediation, and Henry was so offended that he wished never again to see the face of a cardinal.

Becket was, at this time, elated by a brief from the pope, annulling the decree which confiscated his goods, but this favor was counterbalanced, when he received a prohibition from excommunicating any person in England, or interdicting that realm. Alexander would willingly have reconciled the parties, and his own wishes were indicated in the exhortations to humility and moderation, which he repeatedly addressed to the primate.

At length, peace having been made between the king of France and the king of England, it was arranged that, at the interview between them, Henry and Becket should meet. On this occasion, Henry did not refrain from reproaching Becket with ingratitude and pride; but, subduing his anger, he addressed Louis in such a manner, that the

whole assembly, with one accord, declared that he had condescended sufficiently. Becket displayed, in his reply, such unreasonable and unrelenting obstinacy, that his friends would not let him finish, and drew him forcibly away. Louis neither visited him that night, nor sent him food from his kitchen, as he had been wont, and his followers were in despair. But when the French king reflected upon the affair in solitude, his unmitigated enmity to Henry and devotion to the church prevented him from seeing it any longer in its true light. He sent for the primate, and, falling at his feet, implored his forgiveness for his desertion. When Henry expressed his wonder at this conduct, Louis replied, that he would not give up the hereditary privilege of his crown, which was, to protect the unfortunate, and the victims of injustice.

Five years had now elapsed since Becket withdrew from England, and there had been just cause of indignation given on both sides. There was now a demand upon Henry in which the church was too much interested to relax its pursuit; it was for restitution of all that had been taken from the primate, or

those who followed him into exile. The pope sent letters of commination to the king, bidding him not to imagine that the sword of St. Peter was rusted in the scabbard, or had lost its edge, and warning him that, if restitution were not made before Lent, the primate should be no longer restrained.

Becket waited till the term prescribed, and then excommunicated many of the royal household, among whom were the bishops of London and Salisbury. Henry wrote to the pope, who would now gladly have reconciled the contending parties, and admonished Becket to suspend his censures till it should be seen what a new legation might effect. After long disputation concerning a written form of reconciliation, every thing seemed, at last, to be accorded, when the negotiation was broken off, because Henry would not consent to give the kiss of peace, which, in his anger, he had sworn never to bestow upon Becket. An agreement was then proposed upon the general terms, that each should perform what he owed to the other. Henry had long wished to have his eldest son crowned, and had obtained a bull empowering him to have

the ceremony performed by whatever bishop he pleased. The prince was crowned by the archbishop of York, which was a severe mortification to Becket, for he had long sighed to perform the ceremony himself. When he heard, also, that the pope had absolved the bishops of London and Salisbury from his censures, his indignation was unbounded, and he declared that Satan was let loose for the destruction of the church. In this temper, he wrote letters to England, placing the kingdom under an interdict; but here he was baffled, for the letters could not be introduced. Legates were again appointed by the pope to effect an accommodation, and Alexander, unsolicited, absolved Henry from his oath as to the kiss of peace. The king deemed it best to submit on this point to his imperious subject, and consent to meet him in a meadow on the borders of Touraine.

On Henry's part, no appearance of sincerity was wanting. He galloped forward to meet the primate, and prevented his salutation, by first greeting him. They then withdrew together as if familiarly discoursing; but Becket's discourse was, by his own ac-



count, far less conciliating than his manner. At the close of this conversation, Becket alighted, and threw himself at the king's feet; Henry also alighted, and ordered him to remount, and held the stirrup for him, saying, "My lord archbishop, what occasion is there for many words? Let us mutually restore to each other our former affection, and do one another all the good we can."

The business of the interview yet remained. The archbishop sent a petition to the king, — couched in different words from those concerted with the pope, — demanding the church of Canterbury with its possessions and his royal favor, and peace and security to him and his; promising, on his own part, love and honor, and whatever could be performed in the Lord, by an archbishop to his sovereign. Henry felt that this was no place for disputing. He agreed to all the terms, and declared that he received the primate and his friends into favor. They passed the evening together, and agreed that Becket should come to Normandy, to make some abode in the king's court. There is every reason to believe that this reconciliation would have been

effective to the great ends of public and private tranquillity, if there had been the same sincere intention of rendering it so on the primate's part as on the king's.

Elated, however, as Becket was, there was a secret feeling that his triumph was not so complete as he represented it to be, and something like an ominous apprehension that there would be danger as well as difficulty, in the course which he intended to pursue. His friends in England advised him not to return thither until he should have ingratiated himself with the king; but he was incapable of fear. He wrote to Henry, requesting leave immediately to go over; and, announcing his intention to the pope, he said, he was doubtful whether he was going to peace or punishment. It appears, however, that Henry did not send over positive orders for enforcing the restitution which he had promised to make. At their second meeting the kiss was not given, though they were then in the king's dominions; expostulations and recriminations passed between them, not without acrimony. At their next interview, Henry was in a kinder mood, and there came from him an ex-

pression which seemed to bear the mark of sincerity : — “ O, my lord, why will you not do what I desire ? I should then put every thing into your hands.” This exclamation implied an emotion of affectionate regret that Becket had not coöperated with him in those beneficial reforms which he had designed ; but the king had touched a string to which, in his heart, there was no responsive chord.

On his way to the court, the primate took leave of Henry, who promised to meet him at Rouen, provide him with money for discharging his debts, and either accompany him to England, or send the archbishop of Rouen with him. None of these promises were fulfilled. The archbishop lent him three hundred pounds, and he proceeded on his journey, believing, as he said to Louis, that he was going to play for his head. He was going in fact, not to complete the reconciliation, but to renew the contest. Resolving to proceed without delay against the priests of Baal (as he called them), he sent the sentence of excommunication before him into England. The law which made this a treasonable act, was still in force, but he found

a messenger well fitted for such work, who undertook to deliver the letter for the archbishop. This was a nun, whom he told that God had chosen the weak things of the world to confound the strong, and persuaded that, in fulfilling his behests, she would merit eternal glory and honor. The day after this fanatical messenger departed, he himself embarked, and landed at Sandwich, a port belonging to his see, and inhabited by his tenantry. His reception was such as he expected; but the nun had performed her unhappy commission, and a body of knights armed, as expecting violence, not intending it, hastened thither. The people fled in arms to support their lord. John of Oxford, commanded the sheriff, in the king's name, to do no manner of injury to the primate or any of his followers. Becket then proceeded to Canterbury, where he was welcomed by all the poor and peasantry of the country, who felt the difference between living under an intrusive lord, and the church which was always liberal and beneficent. The parochial clergy went out in solemn procession to meet him, and, finally, the monks received him into

their convent,—bells ringing, the organs pealing, and the choir echoing with hymns of triumphant thanksgiving. On the morrow, came messengers from the suspended prelates, notifying their appeal to the pope ; there came also messengers from the young king, requiring him to absolve them from their censures. The primate offered, for the peace of the church, to absolve them at his own peril, provided they would take an oath to obey the injunctions of the pope in this affair. The bishops of Salisbury and London were dissuaded from taking this oath, and embarked for Normandy, to visit the king. Becket then went himself to see the young king at Woodstock ; but at London, where the populace received him with acclamations, an order was given him from Woodstock, forbidding him to enter any of the king's towns or castles, and commanding him to retire with all his retinue within the verge of his church. To Canterbury he returned, and wrote to the pope, that the sword of death was hanging over him. The higher clergy and better citizens who had gone out to meet him, were summoned to give bail upon a charge of

sedition, and persons of rank kept away from him. But, fearless of consequences, the haughty primate thundered out his invectives against most of the king's counsellors and friends, and excommunicated three of his enemies by name.

Meantime, the archbishop of York, and the two bishops, had repaired to the father king, in Normandy, telling him that there would be no peace for him, or his kingdom, while Becket was alive. This was the plain truth, and Henry in despair, called himself unfortunate in having maintained so many cowardly and thankless men, none of whom would revenge him of the injuries he had sustained; words which expressed a culpable wish for Becket's death. No such order was intended, but Reginald Fitzurse, William de Tracy, Richard Brito, and Hugh de Moreville, who were gentlemen of the bed-chamber, bound themselves by an oath, that they would compel the primate to withdraw his censures, or carry him out of the kingdom, or put him to death. With this determination, unknown to the king, they hastened to England.

The result of Henry's counsel was, sending over three barons to arrest Becket ; but these messengers were too late. The ministers of vengeance, furnished by one of the excommunicated knights with soldiers enough to overpower Becket's household, proceeded to Canterbury. About ten in the morning, they went with twelve knights into Becket's bed-chamber, where his family were at table, while he conversed with some of his monks and clergy. Fitzurse said they came with orders from the king, and asked if he would hear them in public or private. Becket chose to hear what they had to impart in company, and then Fitzurse required him to absolve the suspended and excommunicated prelates. To this he returned an evasive answer. The four barons then, in the king's name, required that he and all who belonged to him, should leave the kingdom. Becket replied, that he would never again put the sea between him and his church. He upbraided those of them who had been in his service as chancellor, and declared, that he would fight the battles of the Lord, if all the swords in England were brandished over his

head. The barons rose, and, charging the monks to guard him, bade the knights of the household to go with them. Becket was told that they were arming themselves, and was with difficulty persuaded to retire through the cloisters into the cathedral, where afternoon service had now begun. The assailants entered through a window, searched the palace, and followed him to the cathedral. Becket disdained to conceal himself, and was ascending the steps of the high altar, when the barons rushed into the choir with drawn swords, exclaiming, "Where is the traitor, Thomas à Becket?" When the question was repeated, he came down from the steps, saying, "Here am I; no traitor, but a priest; ready to suffer in the name of him who redeemed me." On peril of instant death, he refused again to take off the censures from the prelates. "Reginald," said he, to Fitzurse, "I have done you many kindnesses, and do you come against me armed." "Fly, then," said the baron. "Nor that either," was Becket's answer; "I am ready to die." Another struck him with the flat part of his sword, saying, "Fly, or you are dead." The murderers



declared, that it was their intention to carry him prisoner to the king, but he clung to one of the pillars, and struggled with the assailants. A blow from Fitzurse, which almost cut off the arm of a monk who interposed, wounded Becket in the crown of the head. Bowed in the attitude of prayer, his last words were, — “To God, to St. Mary, and the saints who are patrons of this church, and to St. Dennis, I commend myself, and the church’s cause !” The second blow brought him to the ground, on his face, but he had strength and composure enough to cover himself with his robes, and died under repeated strokes, with his hands clasped in prayer. Brito cleft his skull, and an accursed man scattered the brains over the pavement from the point of his sword.

## CHAPTER VIII.

PROCEEDINGS UPON BECKET'S DEATH.—KING JOHN.—TRIUMPH OF PAPAL POWER.

As soon as Henry was informed that the four barons had suddenly left the court, he apprehended some mischief, and immediate orders for stopping them were despatched to all the sea-ports of Normandy. This caution was too late, and when the news reached Henry, he was struck with remorse for the cause of the crime, and alarmed for the consequences. He put on sackcloth and ashes, and, for three days, was incapable either of consolation or counsel. At length, an embassy was sent to the pope, and messengers to Canterbury, commanding that the body should be honorably buried. This was acting as became him, and it were well if he had persevered in a dignified course.

The king of France called on the pope to unsheathe the sword of St. Peter, and Urban regarded the murder as an event which might be made subservient to his views. Two of Becket's chaplains, sent by

the archbishop of Sens, appeared before him to plead against the reconciliation which Henry solicited. Holy Thursday was at hand, and it was expected that, on that day, the whole of Henry's dominions would be placed under an interdict. To prevent this stroke, the embassy from England assured the pope that the king would submit wholly to his mandates in this affair. Their object was answered by this expedient, and the pope contented himself, on the dreaded day, with excommunicating the murderers of Becket, in general, and all who advised, abetted, or consented to the crime. He wrote, also, a letter to Henry, exhorting him to humility. Money was said to have been largely distributed among the cardinals, and every thing was composed, till Urban should send legates into Normandy.

The terms of accommodation saved appearances for both parties. They were, that Henry should maintain two hundred knights-templars, for the defence of the Holy Land, one year; that he should take the cross for three years himself, and go into Palestine the ensuing summer, or to the assistance of the

Christians in Spain; that he should not prevent appeals being made freely to the pope, and that his favor, and their possessions, should be restored to all who had been deprived of them on Becket's account. There were other secret conditions which related, probably, to the price which was paid for the pope's moderation.

The craft in which Dunstan had excelled was still exercised at Canterbury, and various wonders were related of the martyred saint. It was said that, at his requiem, angels assisted, and upon the spot where he was slain, and at his tomb, the lame walked, the blind obtained sight, the deaf heard, and the dumb spake. The ministers of the young king endeavored, at first, to stop these impious impostures, but they took no measures for exposing them, and the delusion spread so effectually, that, within two years after his death, Thomas of Canterbury was canonized. It was said that his place in heaven was higher than that of St. Stephen, and of all other martyrs. His brains were sent to Rome, his skull and scalp preserved as holy relics, and the rust of the sword that killed him was

tendered to pilgrims to kiss. No arts, no falsehoods, no blasphemies, were spared, which might raise the reputation of the new shrine; and these artifices were successful. One hundred thousand pilgrims are known to have been present at his tomb on one of the seasons of jubilee, which was granted once in fifty years, with plenary indulgence, to those who visited the spot, and it may be seen where their knees have worn the marble steps. More than six hundred pounds was offered at Becket's altar, in a year, when, at the altar of Christ, nothing had been presented. Not having opposed this delusion in time, Henry yielded to it. Either from prostration of mind, or policy, he left his court, and set out to implore the saint's intercession in the most public manner. When he came within sight of the towers of Canterbury, he dismounted, replaced his garment by a coarse cloth, and proceeded, barefoot, over three miles of flinty road. He reached the church, trembling with emotion, threw himself prostrate before the shrine, and remained in that posture, as if in earnest prayer. The monks of the convent, and other clergy

who were present, were each provided with a knotted cord, and he received five stripes from each prelate, and three from every other hand. After this penance, he threw sackcloth over his bleeding shoulders, and resumed his prayers till midnight. At that hour, he assigned forty pounds a year for tapers, to burn perpetually before the martyr's tomb, and drank some water in which a portion of Becket's blood was mingled. He returned to London in a state incapable of exertion. There is good reason for affirming that Henry had not changed his opinion concerning Becket's conduct, but his mind was subdued by the ingratitude of his children; and his moral and intellectual degradation made him catch at all substitutes for repentance.

The court of Rome had gained more in this dispute than it had ever effected against the steadier policy of the Norman kings, and, in Becket's canonization, a more important victory had been gained over the public mind; for the cause for which he suffered was that of the Romish church, and its temporal power had been the sole point in

dispute. It is not sufficiently remembered how often that authority was exercised beneficially. When Richard Cœur-de-Lion was villainously seized and put in chains, his release would not have been effected had not the pope interfered, and threatened the emperor with excommunication. Upon Richard's death, the clergy acted unjustly in assisting at the election of John, to the exclusion of Arthur, his elder brother's son. John's character was already notorious, and, perhaps, there is no other king recorded in history, who has made himself at once so despicable and so odious.

Upon the death of Herbert, the primate, a dispute arose concerning the appointment of a successor. Some of the younger monks, without the knowledge of their seniors, or the king, elected Reginald, who set off immediately for Rome, to obtain a ratification of his appointment. Too vain to keep his secret, Reginald proclaimed his election as he went. The juniors were brought to their senses by resentment, and joined with their superiors, and, with the king's approbation, elected the bishop of Norwich. When the question was

examined by Innocent, he declared that both appointments were void, and recommended to their choice Stephen de Langton, cardinal of St. Chrysogonus. John had authorized his deputies to reëlect the bishop of Norwich, but Innocent replied, that the consent of a king was not necessary when a pope was present, and commanded them to choose Langton. Elias de Branfield refused obedience, but the others reluctantly obeyed, and led the cardinal to the altar.

Innocent III. was a man of great ability and activity, but haughty and ambitious. Having taken this unwarrantable step, he sent the king a present of four rings, with a letter explaining them. In their form, they typified eternity, in their square number, constancy; the emerald denoted faith; the sapphire, hope; the garnet, charity; and the topaz, good works. One was wanting, which should have read a lesson of patience, for the second letter required him to receive Langton as the consecrated primate.

Rapine was the first thing John thought of, in his anger, and, sending an armed force to expel the monks from Canterbury, he seized



the whole of their effects. He wrote a letter to the pope, stating his determination to support the rights of the crown. Innocent replied in the true papal style. The bishops of London, Ely and Worcester, were now charged to lay the kingdom under an interdict, unless the king would admit the primate, and recall the exiled monks of Canterbury. When they waited upon him, and announced the alternative, he swore that, if any one dare interdict his territories, he would send them and all their clergy to Rome, and confiscate all their property, with similar menaces. They retired, trembling, from his presence, but, after some weeks, pronounced the sentence of interdict, and fled the realm. Even now, it may be understood what an effect must have been produced upon the feelings of the people, when all the rites of the church were suspended ; no bell heard, no taper lighted, no service performed, no church open. Some little mitigation was allowed ; the people, therefore, were called to prayers and sermons in the church-yards, and marriages were performed at the church door.

John cared nothing for all this. He seized the ecclesiastical revenues, imprisoned the relations of the obnoxious prelates, and defied the pope. Some years had passed in this miserable dispute, when the sentence of excommunication was passed, whereby all persons were forbidden to eat, drink, talk, counsel with, or do service to King John; he was declared to be deposed from his royal seat, and the king of France was invited to kill, or expel him.

Philip, who had already dispossessed John of the greater part of his continental dominions, prepared now to take possession of England, but it was not the wish of Innocent that the acquisition which he had so liberally offered should fall into his hands. A confidential minister, therefore, Pandulph by name, was intrusted with terms which, if John should accept, he would find the arm of Rome powerful to uphold him. John had collected a formidable host, but he knew that they might forsake him, and his fear was increased by the prediction of a hermit, that before Ascension-day, his crown should be given to another. That day was at hand,

and when Pandulph arrived, John, in fear and trembling, affixed his seal to the instrument which he had prepared, and swore to observe whatever he had thus subscribed. His humiliation was not yet completed. In the prostration of a heart, as abject in adversity as it was insolent in power, on the day before Ascension, he laid his crown at Pandulph's feet, and surrendered the kingdoms of England and Ireland to the pope. The money which was delivered in earnest of the tribute that he promised annually to pay, Pandulph trampled under foot, to show how little the pope regarded worldly wealth, and he kept the crown five days before he restored it to John. Peter's prediction had been fulfilled, but John ordered the hermit to be hanged as a false prophet, and his son with him.

Whatever the motives of the barons may have been, in advising John to grant this deed of conveyance to the Roman see, this act led, in its speedy consequences, to one of the most momentous and beneficial events in English history,—the acquisition of Magna Charta. Langton, the cause of this contest,

who had resided at Pontigny during its progress, now arrived in England with the other exiles. He proceeded to Winchester to absolve the king, who came out to meet him. After the absolution was pronounced, he swore to defend the church and her ministers, to give every man his rights, and to make full satisfaction for all the damages he had caused. The interdict was not to be wholly removed till these conditions had been observed. John ordered commissioners to inquire into these damages, and report it to the great council. He then joined his army at Portsmouth; but their means were spent, and they could not follow him, unless supplied with money. He embarked with his own household, expecting that they would follow him from a sense of shame; but when he had sailed to Jersey, he was convinced that his barons would not come, and, returning to England, he marched with such forces as he could collect, to take vengeance upon them. By the expostulations of the primate, he was persuaded to lay down his arms, and appoint a day on which the barons should appear and answer to his charges. The

great council assembled at London, in St. Paul's Church; the king was not present, but he demanded from his barons commutation in money, for the service they had refused to perform. The barons bound themselves by an oath, to contend for the rights secured to them in a charter, which Henry I. had granted, and, if need were, to die in the cause. Innocent readily espoused the king's cause, but his legate did not act as a just arbitrator. He invaded their rights, and, without consulting them, filled up the vacant sees and abbeys. Langton appealed to Rome, and Pandulph, who was sent to justify the new legate's proceedings, extolled John as an humble and dutiful son of the church, and charged Langton and the bishops with demanding more in reparation than they ought.

The barons, for their own security, persevered resolutely in the course which they had begun. They held secret meetings, and pledged themselves by a vow, that if the king did not confirm the laws which Langton had laid before them, they would make war upon him, till they should have obtained their demands in a charter, under his own seal. At

Christmas, they presented themselves before the king and made their petition. It was a struggle for power, between a bad king and a turbulent nobility. The primate, who had raised the storm, now stood aloof, the better to direct it. At Christmas, John met his barons in London; their forces were so distributed as to secure themselves, and intimidate the king, who, when they demanded a confirmation of the charter of Henry I., perceived that denial would be dangerous, and therefore required time for deliberation till Easter. This was granted, and John employed the interval in exacting new oaths of fealty from his people, fortifying his castles and raising forces.

In the Easter-week, five and forty barons, with two thousand knights and all their retainers met in arms. They proceeded to Brakesley, where the king was, and delivered a roll containing the ancient liberties, privileges and customs of the realm, declaring that if the king did not at once confirm these, they would make war upon him until he did. John swore that he would never grant them liberties which should make himself a slave, and they commenced war by laying siege to

Northampton. This they abandoned, and were invited to London with assurance that the gates should be opened in the night. The gates were accordingly thus betrayed, and the possession of the metropolis decided the contest. The other barons being called to make their choice, decided in favor of their peers, and John then felt the necessity for submission. He met the barons at Runnymede, and there Magna Charta was signed.

This charter recognized the fundamental principles of free government, and is one for which England has reason to be thankful. There is not one stipulation, however, in favor of the servile class; and this may prove, at once, that the rights of humanity were not regarded in that age. The first article declared that the Church of England should be free, and its liberties inviolable.

When the obnoxious provisions of the charter were presented to Innocent, he exclaimed with a frown, "do these barons go about to dethrone their king, who hath taken the cross, and is under the protection of the apostolic see? By St. Peter, we will not suffer this outrage to go unpunished." He then issued

a bull, forbidding the king to observe the charter, the barons to require its execution, and pronouncing it null and void. This bull being disregarded by the barons, he ordered Langton to excommunicate them, and when he refused to do it, suspended him from his office. In the ensuing reign he was relieved from this sentence, and resuming his functions again, acted in concert with the barons, and assisted them in obtaining from Henry III., a confirmation of the charter.

No man has contributed more to the liberties of England than Stephen Langton. While under a sense of professional and religious duty, he was ready to suffer any thing in submission to the church of Rome, but resolutely refused to act in obedience to its orders, when he believed them to be unjust ; affording thus the surest proof of his integrity. The corruptions of the Romish church were at their height, and if the papal power had not been adapted to the condition of Europe, it would not have existed. With all its errors, its corruptions, and its crimes, it was morally and intellectually the conservative power of Christendom, and everywhere ex-



erted a controlling and remedial influence. Every place of worship was an asylum, and cities of refuge were not more needed under the Mosaic dispensation, than such asylums in ages which allowed free scope to individual resentment. If the monarch were endangered or oppressed, here was an authority to which he could resort ; and the same shield was extended over the vassals who called upon the pope. The government Hildebrand would have founded would have bound the kings and princes to obey the vicar of Christ, not only as their spiritual, but temporal lord ; and their disputes would have been referred to a council of prelates, assembled annually at Rome. If the papal chair could always have been occupied by such men as Carlo Borromeo, or Fenelon, such a scheme would have produced as much benefit to the world, as has ever been imagined in utopian romance.

The authority to which the church could lay no claim from the purity of its members, it supported by its arrogant pretensions. The Scriptures had long become a sealed book to the people, and the Roman see proscribed the use of such versions as existed. This it

did from the secret consciousness, that what was now taught as Christianity, was not to be found in the written word of God. In maintenance of this system, tradition was set up. This had been the artifice of some of the earliest heretics, who, when charged with holding doctrines not according to Scripture, asserted that some things had been revealed which were not committed to writing. Upon this ground, the Romish clergy justified all the devices of man's imagination, with which they had corrupted the ritual, and the faith of the Western church.

One of the earliest corruptions grew out of the reverence which was paid to the memory of departed saints. The prayer which was preferred with increased fervency at the martyr's grave, was at length addressed to the martyr himself; virtue was imputed to the remains of his body, the rags of his apparel, and even to the instruments of his suffering; and it was decreed, that no church should be erected, unless some relics of this kind were deposited within the altar. There is, unquestionably, in the human mind, a natural tendency towards this form of super-

stition. It prevailed among the Greeks and Romans, but nowhere has it been carried to so great a length as in the Romish church. At one time, entire bodies were carried about the country, and exhibited to the credulous multitude ; and, even now, the bodies of saints are exposed in their churches, a ghastly and degrading spectacle. A skull, a bone, a tooth, or a tongue, were mounted, or set, in gold or silver, and deposited in costly shrines, enriched with the most precious gems. Such was the impudence of Romish fraud, that portions were produced of the burning bush, of the manna which fell in the wilderness, and of our Saviour's blood. It often happened, that the head of the same saint was shown in several places ; and, to accommodate the dispute as to their genuineness, a miraculous multiplication was asserted.

With the reverence which was paid to relics, saint-worship grew up, and they were invoked as mediators between God and man. Having introduced a polytheism little less gross than that of the heathens, they hung about their altars pictures recording marvellous deliverances, and waxen models of the

diseased and injured parts. Church vied with church, and convent with convent, in the reputation of their wonder-working images, and no language can exaggerate the enormity of the falsehoods which were thus promulgated. All united in elevating the Virgin Mary to the highest rank in the mythology of the Romish church. They traced her types throughout the Old Testament, and she, of all human kind, alone was produced without taint of frailty. Her image was found in every church throughout Christendom, and, as an example of the falsehoods by which this superstition was kept up, it may suffice to mention the legend of Loretto, where the house in which the virgin lived at Nazareth is still shown, as having been carried there by four angels. The story of its arrival, and how it had been set down twice by the way, was sanctioned by the popes, and printed in all languages. By such fables, the belief of the people became so corrupted, that Christ appeared in the character of a jealous God, who was to be propitiated through the virgin mother. The incense employed in Christian churches, the lamps

which burn perpetually before the altar, the holy water, the open shrine, and rustic chapel, are good in their intention and their uses, but were easily abused.

Some of the accidental resemblances between Popery and Paganism, arose in both, from the excess and misdirection of the same natural feelings. To trace the deterioration in the form and spirit of religion, it will be necessary to look back upon the earlier ages of the church.

Pelagius was the most remarkable man of whom Wales can boast, and the most reasonable of those whom the ancient church branded with heresy. He erred in denying that there is an original taint in human nature, but he vindicated the goodness of God, by asserting the free-will of man. His opinions were condemned, but it was not possible to suppress them. The Romish church did, with the religions of the world, what Rome had done with its kingdoms; it subdued and assimilated them. Even idolatry was, in some degree, purified; but the Christians, when the philosophy of the Orientals crept into their creed, founded upon it a system as

terrible in practice, as it was monstrous in theory. This produced in the same persons the most intense selfishness, and the most astonishing self-sacrifice. The triumph of the will over the body was indeed complete, but it triumphed over the reason, also. The most loathsome and extravagant practices were regarded as sure indications of sanctity. Linen, and the use of the warm bath, were proscribed, and to procure cleanliness by pleasurable means, was thought a positive sin. The act of eating was made a penance, by mingling whatever was nauseous with their food; and the victories which they achieved over the reluctant stomach are recorded in innumerable Roman Catholic books, for edification and example. Cases of horrid self-mutilation were sometimes discovered, and many perished by a painful and lingering suicide. St. Dominic was distinguished for his iron dress, and for flogging himself with a scourge, day and night; and Arnulph of Villars immortalized himself by inventing, for his own use, an under waistcoat of hedgehog-skins.

It cannot be doubted, that, amidst their

pain, these fanatics derived pleasure, both from the pride of voluntary endurance, and the anticipation of their reward in heaven. The opinion prevailed, that the degree of faith and good works without which a soul could not be saved must be at a standard, which all mankind could reach. Atonement having been made for all, good works were needful only as the evidence and fruits of a saving faith. But there was a purgatory over which the authority of the pope extended, and the works of supererogation were at his disposal, to shorten its torments. The popes were liberal of this treasure, and granted dispensations for so many years of purgatory ; sometimes for centuries, and sometimes for ever. All persons could not gain these indulgences by pilgrimages, and, therefore, the merit of purchasing them sufficed to deserve so inestimable a reward. Few persons who had any property at their disposal, went out of the world without bequeathing some of it to the clergy, for saying masses for the benefit of their souls. Thus were men taught to put their trust in riches ; and, in whatever sins they indulged, they might purchase a

free passage through purgatory. But purgatory was not the only invisible world over which the authority of the church extended, for, to the pope, as to the representative of St. Peter, the keys of heaven and hell were given. He inculcated, that the soul which departed without confession and absolution, bore with it the weight of its sins to sink it into perdition. The clergy, perceiving the influence derived from this, soon insisted upon it as a peremptory duty. Of all the practices of the Roman church, this is the one which proved the most injurious. The uses of conscience were at an end, when its keeping was delivered to a confessor. The fear of human laws became the only restraint upon evil propensities, and the foulest murderer and parricide, if he escaped the hangman, might, at this price, set his conscience at ease.

Of all the corruptions of Christianity, there was none which the popes so long refused to sanctify, as that of transubstantiation. It was first declared by Innocent III. to be a tenet necessary to salvation. If there were, in this sacrament, the actual and sole presence which



they affirmed, it followed, that divine worship was something more than a service of prayer and thanksgiving; it was an actual sacrifice. The inference which they deduced was, that the clergy were not subject to any secular authority, seeing that they could create God, their Creator. Such were their blasphemous assumptions. According to the canons, the pope was far above all kings. The immediate and sole rule of the whole world belonged to him, by natural, moral, and divine right. He might lawfully depose kings, take away kingdoms and empires, without cause, and give them to whom he pleased. Any secular laws passed against his decrees were null and void, and the sin of rejecting them could never be remitted. The proposition has even been advanced, that, though the Catholic faith teaches all vice to be evil, and all virtue good, nevertheless, if the pope, through error, should enjoin vices to be committed, and prohibit virtues, the church would be bound to believe that vices were good, and virtues evil, and would sin, in conscience, to believe it otherwise. It was disputed in the schools, whether he could abrogate what the

apostles had enjoined, and add a new article to the creed. Lastly, it was affirmed, that he might do things unlawful, and thus could do more than God. All this was certain, because the church was infallible, and thus the key-stone was put to this prodigious structure of imposture and wickedness.

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## CHAPTER IX.

RISE OF THE REFORMATION.—THE MENDICANT ORDERS.—WICLIFFE.—PERSECUTION UNDER THE HOUSE OF LANCASTER.

THE corrupt lives of the clergy provoked inquiry into their doctrines. Reformers arose, and the numerous relics of various heretical sects, which, though subdued, still secretly existed, fraternised with them. They taught that the pope was the head of all errors; that the Romish church is that woman who is described in the Apocalypse as sitting on the beast, arrayed in purple and scarlet; and, condemning the abuses and ceremonies of the church, comprehended what was innocent and useful in the same proscription. Indig-

nation against spiritual tyranny and imposture, uncompromising sincerity and intrepid zeal, made them formidable to the hierarchy. Their numbers increased, and a religious revolution might, perhaps, have been effected, if a counter and stronger spirit of enthusiasm had not been called forth in defence of the papal church. The person by whom this service was rendered, was the son of a rich merchant, called, by his acquaintance, Francesco, on account of his knowledge of the French, and known, in Romish mythology, as St. Francis. The web of his history is so interwoven with falsehood, that it is not possible to decide whether he was a madman or impostor. Having infected a few kindred spirits with his enthusiasm, he obtained the pope's permission to institute an order of Friars Minorite, known by the name of Franciscans.

His entire devotion to the pope, his ardent adoration of the Virgin Mary, and the very extravagance of the institution which he proposed, obtained a favorable reception for his proposals. His followers were to go into the streets and highways to exhort the people;

they were bound to the severest rule of life ; they went barefoot, and renounced all possessions whatever, trusting to charity for their daily bread.

The marvellous increase of the order was soon admitted as full proof of the inspiration of its founder ; for, in ten years, the delegates to its chapter exceeded five thousand ; and, in the early part of the eighteenth century, it was found, though diminished one third, that there were two thousand and eight hundred Franciscan nuns, and one hundred and fifteen thousand Franciscan friars. The rival order of St. Dominic was instituted at the same time, for the same purpose, and upon the same principle. Both orders coöperated in the work of extirpating the Albigenses, and were equally zealous in persecuting the enemies of the papal church. In process of time, they became the opprobrium and scandal of the church which they had preserved, and the falsehoods which they fabricated were blasphemous beyond all former example. The founders of both orders were held up as the perfect patterns of our Lord and Saviour ; and in theology, or scholastic contro-

versy, they were opposed to each other, but they held a common cause against the reformers, and against the secular clergy. As itinerant preachers, they called forth devotional feelings which would otherwise never have been excited; as confessors, they lessened the influence of the resident priests; and, as licensed beggars, they preyed at large upon the public.

The influence which these orders obtained was, for a time, prodigious. Elated by success, they conceived a plan for superseding the gospel. The opinion they started was, that as there were three persons in one God-head, there were to be three dispensations, one from each person. That of the Father was the law, which the gospel of the Son abolished, and that, in like manner, was to be superseded by the revelation of the Holy Spirit. The latter they produced under the title of the eternal gospel. Under the first, men had lived after the flesh; under the second, after the flesh and spirit; in the third, they would live wholly according to the spirit. The Church of Rome cleared itself of this infamy, and condemned the eternal gospel.

When the successors of St. Francis relaxed the rigor of his rule, they were opposed by more sincere, but less reasonable brethren. When the pope condemned their opinions, they denied his authority; and, irritated at this, the holy father let loose the Dominicans against them. That order, infamous as having founded the inquisition, persecuted these spiritual Franciscans, and saw hundreds of them expire in the flames. Others retired into Germany, where they continued their attacks upon the Papacy, and prepared the way for the Reformation.

The first discontent in England was provoked by the manner in which the popes abused their victory in that country. In the reign of Henry III., the Italians, who were beneficed there, drew from England more than thrice the amount of the king's revenues. The government began to apprehend serious injury from the multiplication of religious houses, lest men should be wanting for husbandry and war. The statute of mortmain was passed, to prevent further foundations; a law which gave a useful direction to the spirit of munificent bounty

which prevailed in those dark ages, a virtue in which they have never been surpassed. It was now that the universities received their chief endowments, and with these the friars now interfered. Parents became afraid to trust their sons in Oxford, lest they should take the vows, and the number of pupils decreased from thirty to six thousand. When there appeared a man bold enough to attack the intrusive friars upon the errors which they taught, he was encouraged by the persons in authority.

This man was John Wicliffe, whom the Protestant world will always regard with veneration and gratitude. He was born at a village of the same name; was first a commoner at Queen's College, and then, a probationer at Merton, was appointed master of Balliol. At first, he exercised himself in disputing against the friars upon scholastic subjects, and while he confined himself to such questions, success was certain. The founder of Canterbury Hall appointed him warden, but upon his death, the monks ejected Wicliffe, who appealed to the pope. Edward III. had refused the tribute to which King

John had subjected his successors, and the parliament declared, that if Urban proceeded in any way against the king, he and all his subjects, with all their power, should resist him. The papal claims were defended by a monk, to whom Wicliffe replied with superior ability; in reward for which, when the wardenship was decided against him, he was appointed professor of divinity.

Hitherto, his opposition to the papal authority had been purely constitutional; but when, two years after his appointment to the divinity chair, he was sent, with other ambassadors, to meet the pope's representatives at Bruges, and resist his pretensions to the presentation of benefices in England, he was convinced of the corruption of the system and doctrines of the papal court. He attacked it, then, in the boldest manner, proclaiming the pope that Man of Sin, whom St. Paul describes, "sitting as God in the temple of God," and denouncing him as Antichrist. It was not long before he was accused of heresy, and he would have been arrested, had it not been for the protection of the duke of Lancaster. The archbishop summoned him



to appear within thirty days, at a synod held in St. Paul's, and Wicliffe hesitated not to obey. During the interval, a circumstance occurred which incensed the prelates against him, and strengthened his influence with the government.

In the first parliament after the accession of Richard II., the question was debated, whether an invasion being then threatened from France, they might not detain the treasure due to the pope, for their own defence. This question was referred to Wicliffe, and his answer was, that it might be withheld if self-preservation required it.

On the day appointed, Wicliffe appeared before the synod, with powerful friends and protectors. A tumult ensued from the imprudent conduct of John of Gaunt and lord Percy, who entered into altercation with Bishop Courtney, whose part was espoused by the citizens. In consequence of this, the synod was broken up, and such a riot ensued the next day, that the barons were obliged to escape from London. By the interference of the court and the prelates, a reconciliation was effected, and Wicliffe was cited to appear

again at Lambeth. The written defence which he offered would have availed him little, had he not been protected by Sir Lewis Clifford. A schism which occurred at this juncture, weakened the papal power, and Wicliffe seized the opportunity to publish a tract on the absurdity of ascribing infallibility to a divided church. He also published a treatise upon the truth of Scripture, and a translation of both the Old and New Testament into the English tongue. Before he had completed this undertaking, he fell dangerously ill, and some of the friars waited upon him to require that he would revoke what he had taught against the Mendicants. He was raised upon his pillow, and replied, "I shall not die, but live to declare still further the evil deeds of the friars." He now proceeded to impugn the doctrine of transubstantiation, and then all favor failed him; the clergy, the university, the government, and his patron, Lancaster, opposed his opinions. He was summoned to appear at Oxford and explain his doctrine, and his consummate skill in the language of the schools saved him on this occasion.

The doctrine which he held is that which the Church of England afterwards adopted, and, upon this point, his opinions gained ground ; for his translation of the Bible was now eagerly read by all who could obtain it. His numerous proselytes obtained the name of Lollards, which had been given to enthusiasts in the low countries, from their practice of singing hymns ; lollen or lullen, signifying to sing, as a mother when she lulls her babe. When Courtney succeeded to the primacy, he lost no time in citing Wicliffe to appear before him. He refused, and articles were preferred against him ; but an earthquake would have suspended the deliberations of the assembly, if Courtney had not declared it portended the purging of the kingdom from heresies. The synod, therefore, proceeded to view the propositions, some of which they censured and condemned as heretical. This sentence was invalidated by the spirit with which Wicliffe defended himself, and Courtney, after endeavoring in vain to obtain an act of parliament, which should convict the offender, required the chancellor of Oxford, with letters from the king, to banish him

from the university. The chancellor represented the danger of this course to his own life, and the peace of the university; and, when Courtney insisted upon it, Wicliffe withdrew, of his own accord, to his living of Lutterworth. Undaunted, he still wielded the pen, and insisted that the pope was plainly Antichrist. For this, Urban summoned him to Rome, but an attack of palsy rendered him incapable of performing the journey, and a second attack, which seized him in his church, when he was about sixty-five, proved fatal.

Wicliffe held some fantastic and erroneous opinions, but he was a great and admirable man, and his fame is not above his deserts. From the perusal of his writings, which were carried into Bohemia, John Huss imbibed the opinions for which he suffered at the stake, and Huss prepared the way for Luther.

The wife of Richard, who was called good Queen Anne, protected the followers of Wicliffe while she lived, and was herself a diligent reader of the Scriptures in the English tongue. Henry IV., who succeeded in usurping the English throne, by the aid of the

clergy, proved himself as sincere in their cause as they were in his, and commanded all heretics, on pain of death, to renounce their opinions, and submit themselves to the church.

The Lollards, at this time, held opinions incompatible with the peace of society. They would have stripped the churches, confiscated their lands, destroyed the monasteries, and proclaimed the principle, that the saints should possess the earth. But by making transubstantiation the test of heresy, the clergy gave them the advantage derived from the reputation and merit of suffering in defence of the truth. William Sautre, a parish priest, was the first martyr for the Reformation in England. The single question with which he was pressed was, whether the sacrament of the altar, after the consecrating words, remained material bread. His final answer was, that the bread, after consecration, remained very bread as it was before. He was then convicted as a heretic, degraded, deposed, and delivered over to the secular arm. He was accordingly burnt at the stake, leaving a name which the Church

of England will ever hold in deserved respect.

The second victim upon whom Arundel laid hands, was a priest of great ability and firmness, William Thorpe by name. Being required to state plainly his belief in the sacrament, he answered, impressively, "I believe that the night before Jesus Christ would suffer for mankind, he took bread in his holy and most worshipful hands, and lifting up his eyes, and giving thanks to God his Father, blessed the bread and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying to them, Take and eat of this, all you, this is my body. Other belief, sir, I have none, and in this, with God's grace, I purpose to live and die." It is not related that Thorpe suffered; had he saved his life by recantation, it would not have been concealed; it is therefore probable he died in prison. The second victim at the stake was a tailor, by name John Badby. Prince Henry urged him to save his life, and when he heard his cry for mercy, after the fagots were in flames, ordered the fire to be quenched, and the sufferer to be taken down. In that condition, Badby

still refused to submit to the church, and was replaced upon the pile, where, calling upon Christ to receive his soul, he expired a martyr.

Whoever read the books of Wicliffe or his disciples without license from the universities, was to suffer as a promoter of heresy ; and those, also, who disputed the utility of pilgrimages, or the adoration of images and the cross. The heads of every college were required to examine, once a month, whether any scholars maintained the new doctrines, and to expel such as were convicted of them. Whoever should translate the Scripture, or read translations, particularly Wicliffe's, without approbation, was to be punished as a promoter of heresy.

Twelve inquisitors were appointed at Oxford to search out heretics, and heretical books. They presented two hundred and forty-six conclusions, and represented the importance of removing certain great men, especially Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham. Henry V., who knew and admired his noble qualities, requested the prelates to defer their

proceedings, till he had communed the matter with him seriously.

It happened, on that very day, a pile of books were burnt, among which, was one of Lord Cobham's. Certain extracts from this volume were laid before the king, who declared that they were the most perilous and pestilent, that he had ever heard. Lord Cobham owned that the book had been justly condemned, and that he had never read in it, more than three or four leaves. This was probably true, for Lord Cobham would not seek to shelter himself by a paltry subterfuge. When Henry admonished him, he made this magnanimous answer: "You, most worthy prince, I am always willing to obey; unto you, next my eternal God, I owe my whole obedience; but, as touching the pope and his spirituality, I owe them neither suit, nor service, for I know him to be the great Antichrist, the open adversary of God." Upon this, the king turned angrily away, and authorized Arundel to proceed against him to the uttermost.

Lord Cobham retired to Cowling Castle, in Kent, and it was soon represented that any



person who attempted to cite him personally, would be in danger of death. Letters citatory were twice taken down from the gates of Rochester Cathedral, but the ecclesiastical power was too strong to be thus baffled. Arundel excommunicated him, cited him afresh, with a threat, that if the summons were not obeyed, he would proceed to extremities. In better reliance upon a good cause, than upon popular favor, Lord Cobham wrote a paper with which he went to the king, beginning with the Apostles' Creed, to which a larger declaration of his faith was added. Like Wicliffe, he expressed an opinion that the church was divided into three parts; and the church militant into the three estates of priesthood, knighthood, and the commons. The duty of priests was to conform their lives to that of the apostles, evermore occupied in teaching and preaching the Scriptures, purely. The knighthood ought to defend God's law, to see that the gospel was purely taught, and to preserve God's people from oppression and tyranny. The duty of the commons was, to "bear their good minds and true obedience to the foresaid ministers

of God, their kings, civil governors and priests," and justly to occupy every man his faculty, one being helper to the other. He then professed his belief, that the body and blood of Christ were verily contained in the sacrament of the altar; that the law of God was true and perfect, and that they who did not so follow it in their faith and works could not be saved. If any prelate require more obedience than is contained in the blessed law, he exalteth himself above God, and so becometh an open Antichrist.

The Edwards would have rejoiced in such a subject as this manly declaration proved Lord Cobham to be, but Henry V. refused to receive the paper, ordering it to be delivered to those who were to be his judges. Lord Cobham then offered to fight for life or death, with any man living, in this quarrel of his faith, and finally declared that he would refuse no correction, ministered after the laws of God, but alway with all meekness obey it. Perceiving that his destruction was determined upon, he refused the archbishop as his judge, and appealed to the pope; but this appeal was

disallowed, and he was immediately committed to the Tower.

All hope having thus failed him, it remained only to assert the truth, like one who was about to bear witness to it in the flames. When he was brought before the Consistory, Lord Cobham asked leave to read a writing, containing his belief, upon the four points, penance, transubstantiation, images, and pilgrimages. After some consultation as to this writing, Arundel asked him whether material bread remained after consecration, and whether every Christian was not bound to make confession to a priest. Cobham answered, that his belief was already expressed in that writing, and he would answer to no further questions. He was then remanded to the Tower till the ensuing Monday, when he was brought up to a different place, and before a larger assembly. Here at the Dominican convent, many canonists and friars were convened to sit in judgment, while a number of priests, monks, and underlings, were collected as spectators. They insulted him as one accused before God, and two notaries were ready to record the proceedings. These

preparations, and the certainty of what was to ensue, could not shake the constancy of Lord Cobham. But the taunts and mockery of the brutal audience moved him to an emotion, than which nothing nobler in its kind hath been imagined in fiction, or recorded in history. For when Arundel offered him absolution and mercy, he knelt on the pavement, and, holding up his hand towards heaven, exclaimed, "I shrive me here unto thee, my eternal, living God, that in my youth I offended thee, O Lord, most grievously. Many men have I hurt in mine anger, and done many horrible things! Good Lord, I ask thee mercy." He wept while uttering this passionate prayer, then he stood up and said with a mighty voice, "Lo! good people, lo! for the breaking of God's law and his commandments, they never yet cursed me! But for their own laws and traditions, most cruelly do they handle both me and other men. Therefore, they and their laws, by the promise of God, shall utterly be destroyed." When they had recovered from the surprise which this awful appeal excited, they began to examine him concerning his belief. Master as

he was of the subject, strong in his cause, sure of the issue, and therefore fearless of it, and armed with Scripture, the court felt his superiority, and one of the canonists, that they might come to his condemnation without further delay, produced the writing which had been sent him, and interrogated him upon the four points, to all of which he replied, openly and resolutely. A friar asked him if he would worship the cross upon which Christ died. "Where is it?" said Lord Cobham. The friar replied, "I put the case that it was even now here before you." "This is a wise man," said Lord Cobham, "to put me an earnest question of a thing, yet he himself knoweth not where the thing is! I ask you what worship I should do unto it." After some further discussion, the archbishop thought best to close an argument in which the accused person had so palpably the advantage of his judges and accusers. "Sir John," he said, "ye must submit yourself, and have none other opinion in these matters than the universal faith and belief of the holy Church of Rome. See to it in time, for anon it will be too late." "I will none otherwise be-

lieve in these points," was the resolute reply, "than I have told you, hereafore." "Well, then," said Arundel, "I see no other, but we must needs do the law."

The issue had been so clearly foreseen, that the archbishop came with the sentence written. It condemned Lord Cobham for a most pernicious and detestable heretic, and committed him as such to the secular power, to do him, thereupon, to death. Furthermore, the sentence excommunicated and denounced him accursed, and not him alone, but all who should, in any way, receive, defend, counsel, help or maintain him.

When Arundel had finished this wicked and inhuman sentence, Lord Cobham said to him with a firm voice and courageous countenance, "Though ye judge my body, which is but a wretched thing, yet I am certain and sure that ye can do no harm to my soul, no more than could Satan upon the soul of Job. He, who created that, will, of his infinite mercy and promise, save it; I have therein no manner of doubt. And, as concerning these articles before rehearsed, I will stand to them even to the very death, by the grace of

my eternal God." Then turning to the spectators, he said with a loud voice, "Good Christian people, for God's love be well ware of these men, for they will else beguile you, and lead you blindly into hell with themselves." Then kneeling down before them, he prayed for his enemies: "Lord God eternal! I beseech thee, of thy great mercy's sake, to forgive my pursuers, if it be thy blessed will." Their victim was now remanded to the Tower, and the remainder of his history is perplexed by contradictory statements, from which nothing certain can be collected except the results. He had, as his character and talents deserved, many devoted friends, by whose help he escaped from the Tower. The king was informed that the Lollards had formed a plot for murdering him and his brothers. He removed to Westminster, and was then told, that they were assembling from all quarters to act under Lord Cobham, and burn the abbey, St. Paul's, St. Alban's, and all the friaries in London. In the middle of the night, the king ordered his friends to arm, that he might anticipate these enemies. On arriving at the

place stated by his informer, he found only a few persons there. It is said, that unless the precaution had been taken of guarding the city gates, these people were to have been joined by fifty thousand servants and apprentices. In opposition to this most improbable story, it is asserted, that those people whom the king found, had assembled in the fields to hear a midnight preaching, because they could not assemble without danger by day. It is not unlikely that a conspiracy may have been formed for raising the rightful family to the throne, and that the Lollards had embarked in it as a party. What secret information of this there may have been, does not appear ; open evidence there is none. The prisons in and about London were filled, and nine and thirty persons, the chief of whom was Sir Roger Acton, were burnt alive. A large reward was offered for taking Lord Cobham alive or dead, but he eluded his persecutors for four years, till he was discovered by means of the Lord Powis, in Wales. He stood resolutely upon his defence, and would probably not have been taken alive, if a woman had not broken his legs with a stool. In this



condition he was carried to London in a horse-litter, and there being hung by the middle in chains, was consumed in the flames, praising God with his latest breath.

A new statute was enacted upon the pretext of these "great rumors, congregations, and insurrections." It is worthy of notice, that in all the records which remain of this persecution, in no one instance has the victim been charged with principles hostile to the peace and welfare of the state; in every case, they were questioned upon those points which make the difference between the reformed and the Romish religion. The cruelties in England must not be ascribed to the personal character of Arundel, and the other persons who instigated them; they proceeded from the system which the papal church had adopted. The council of Constance, ordered that the remains of Wicliffe, should be dug up and consumed by fire. Accordingly, the grave was opened forty years after his death; the bones were taken out and burnt to ashes, and the ashes thrown into a brook. This brook, says Fuller, conveyed his ashes into Avon, Avon into Severn, Severn into the nar-

row seas, they into the main ocean ; and thus the ashes of Wicliffe, are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all the world over. The papal church, by its pretensions to infallibility, had precluded itself from retrieving any error into which it had fallen. Proof of this was given in the treatment of Reynold Pecock, bishop of Chichester, a man of great ability and rare moderation. He agreed with the Lollards in some points, and would have conceded to them what was untenable, while he argued against them convincingly upon some of their most popular, but least reasonable tenets. But while he was thus serving his own church effectually, by unexceptionable means, he fell under its censure himself, for declaring that the pretensions of infallibility could not be maintained, and that Holy Writ was the only standard of revealed truth. A charge of heresy was therefore brought against him : other accusations were added, and that which should have been a merit in the eyes of the papal court, was imputed to him as a crime ; his assertion, that the pope had a right to all benefices, and that the goods of churchmen

are not the goods of the poor, but as much their own property, as are the temporal estates of those who have them by inheritance. There were other charges, which were merely frivolous, but he was condemned on all, and had to choose between abjuration and martyrdom. Let no one reproach the memory of Bishop Pecock, because martyrdom was not his choice. It was well said by Fuller, "O, there is more required to make a man valiant, than only to call another coward." His principles were not those which demanded that he should bear witness against the Roman church in their behalf. It can hardly be doubted, but that death would have been the preferable alternative, had he not acted under a sense of duty. He was brought in his episcopal habit to St. Paul's cross, and placed at the archbishop's feet, where he was ordered to deliver fourteen of his books into the hands of the person, by whom they were to be thrown into the fire. Then standing up at the cross, he read his abjuration in English, confessing that he had publishedm any perilous and pernicious books, containing heresies and errors, which he then specified,

as they had been charged against him. As many copies as could be collected, were then brought forward, and consumed in the fire.

The treatment which he received, can only be imputed to papal tyranny. He was sent to Thorney Abbey, there to be confined in a secret closed chamber, and the person who made his bed, was the only one who might enter and speak to him. He was to have neither pen, ink, nor paper, and to be allowed no books, except a mass book, a psalter, a legendary, and a Bible. In this dismal imprisonment, Pecock died. But carefully as his writings were destroyed, some of them remained to preserve his memory, and bear witness to his learning, his moderation, and his worth.

The civil wars, which, in all other respects, were so frightful to humanity, afforded a respite from persecution. But when the struggle ceased, it was renewed, and Henry VII. employed the clergy in state affairs, and suffered them to proceed against the Lollards, with the utmost rigor. Among the victims whom they brought to the stake, was a woman of some quality, Joan Boughton, by

name, the first female martyr in England. She was more than eighty years of age, and her daughter, the Lady Young, suffered afterwards the same cruel death, with equal constancy. When William Tylsworth was burnt, his only daughter being suspected of heresy, was compelled not only to witness his death, but, with her own hands, to set fire to him. That one convert should have been made by such means is impossible ; though many were compelled to abjuration. The miserable wretches who were admitted to mercy, were made to bear a fagot in public. They were branded on the cheek, and painted on the sleeve, and if they ventured to lay aside this badge, which consigned the poor to want as well as infamy, they were sent to the flames without remission, so that it became a saying, "Put it off, and be burnt ; keep it on, and be starved." The bishop of Norwich, used to call the persons whom he suspected of heretical opinions, men savoring of the frying-pan ; with such levity did these monsters regard the sufferings which they inflicted.

## CHAPTER X.

## OVERTHROW OF THE PAPAL POWER IN ENGLAND.

WHILE the clergy, by these cruelties, excited in the people a just hatred of a system which was supported by such means, other causes were preparing the way for a religious revolution. The government never deviated from that course of policy which Edward I. had begun, for limiting the papal authority in England. Even the Lancastrian kings, while they endeavored to root out Lollardy with fire, maintained the rights of the crown. As early as Henry the Fourth's reign, the convent lands were in danger of being usurped by the state, and, upon the accession of Henry V., a bill was exhibited, praying for a transfer of lands disordinately spent by spiritual persons. Many poor and impotent were to be deprived of support by the proposed change; schools of useful education broken up, and persons of studious and retired habits cast adrift upon the world. The enemies whom the wealth of the church tempted to assail it, were more dangerous than those who

opposed its corrupt doctrines. Against the latter it could defend itself by the secular arm, and by the learning and ability of the prelates, but when the government longed to possess its wealth, they were ready to league with any allies against it, and reform and spoliation went hand in hand.

Few princes have succeeded to a throne under such propitious circumstances, as Henry VIII. The kingdom was at peace, the treasury rich, the country prosperous, and the royal authority firmly established. Trade was flourishing, a new world had just been opened to the spirit of adventure, and the discovery of printing was already beginning to change the character of the old. With every advantage of person, he united a high degree of bodily and mental accomplishments; and had he died before his mind was depraved, and his heart hardened by sensuality and the possession of absolute power, his death would have been regretted as a national calamity. The splendor of his court exceeded any thing which had ever been seen in Europe, but it was no less remarkable for learning; in which no school, monastery or

university equalled it. Wolsey, the most munificent of men, repressed the disorders of the clergy, and promoted men of wealth and learning in the church. Its practices and doctrines he took as he found them, but removed its ignorance, and reformed its manners. He might have enabled it to support itself yet awhile, if a more perilous and needful reformation had not commenced.

Little could it have been apprehended, when Henry obtained from the pope, the title of Defender of the Faith, that under his auspices, the reformation would be introduced into England. The same turn of mind which made him the champion of the church, caused his defection from it. Had Queen Catharine possessed his affections as she did his esteem, he would not have questioned the lawfulness of his marriage; but the scruple suited his wishes, and his predilection for subtleties.

The queen demeaned herself during the proceedings with true dignity. Henry proposed a strange compromise, that if the queen would retire into a convent, a dispensation could be granted to him for having two wives; and to this the pope and emperor agreed,



but it was given up from fear of the just scandal which it would occasion. The court of Rome protracted the suit, hoping that the death of the queen would extricate them from their embarrassment. But Henry could not patiently brook seven years delay, and resolved to act in defiance of the pope. Cromwell and Cranmer, were peculiarly fitted to aid in withdrawing the Church of England from its subjection to the Romish see. Of the former, it may be said, that many who have entertained worse principles, have been better men. The desire of obtaining promotion was his ruling motive, but he was generous, grateful and compassionate. Cranmer was a meek, unworldly spirit, but there was a bond of friendship between them. By Cromwell's suggestion, Henry declared himself head of the church in his own dominions, and by a politic measure, compelled the clergy to own his supremacy with a qualifying clause. His divorce followed, which was pronounced by his whole court, and then he married Anne Boleyn.

Hitherto, the system of persecution had been carried on with unabated rigor. Among

the martyrs of those days, Thomas Bilney, will ever be remembered with deserved reverence. He had entered on the study of divinity at Cambridge, and being troubled in mind, applied to the priests. His scanty purse and feeble constitution were well-nigh exhausted in fastings, watchings, masses and indulgences, when he obtained a New Testament. The book was sweeter to him than honey; and he began to preach salvation by faith. It was not long before he was accused to the bishop of London, a man of great moderation, who was compelled to bear a part in proceedings which were abhorrent to his disposition. Bilney was found guilty of asserting that Christ was the only mediator, pilgrimages useless, and masses idolatry. He was persuaded to recant; but, from that hour, had no peace in himself. He thought the whole Scriptures were against him, and sounded to his condemnation. After two years of suffering, he resolved to expiate his offence, and openly in the fields confessed his fall and his repentance. It was not long before he was apprehended at Norwich, for

giving an English New Testament to a recluse.

The sheriff to whose custody he was delivered, happened to be one of his friends, and therefore treated him with every kindness. The night before he was to suffer, some friends found him eating heartily, and with a cheerful countenance. On the following morning he was led to the place of execution. It was a low valley, surrounded with rising ground, that the people might see the spectacle from the ascent, as in an amphitheatre, and from the frequent executions, was called the Lollard's pit. Having put off the layman's gown, in which, after his degradation, he had been clad, Bilney knelt, and prayed with deep and quiet devotion, ending with the one hundred and forty-third Psalm, and repeating the verse, "Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified." He then put off his jacket and doublet, and remaining in his hose and shirt, was chained to the stake; the dry reeds were then kindled, and in a few minutes, triumphing over death, he ren-

dered up his soul in the fulness of faith, and entered into his reward.

These dreadful spectacles were attended not by the multitude alone, who came as to a pastime ; the friends of the sufferers seem to have been present as a duty. They derived from his example strength to follow it ; and to him it was a consolation to see their sympathizing faces, and know they would do justice to his memory. It was one of the frauds of the Romanists to report that their victims had acknowledged their errors ; and this wrong was offered to Bilney. The falsehood was believed and published by Sir Thomas More, but Parker afterwards established the truth. Bilney's example was followed by James Bainham, whom the fear of death induced to abjure, but before a month had elapsed, he stood up before a congregation, with an English Testament in his hand, and openly declared that he had denied the truth, and if he did not return to it, that book would condemn him in the day of judgment. When brought to the stake at Smithfield, to the astonishment of the spectators, when his extremities were half consumed, he cried aloud, " In

this fire I feel no pain ; it is to me as a bed of roses." This was a case in which excess of pain had destroyed the power of suffering ; no other bodily feeling was left but that of ease after torture.

The book which Bainham held up in the church was Tindal's translation, now one of the rarest volumes in the collection of the curious. Tindal was bred up, from a child, at Oxford ; and, after graduating, was engaged as a tutor in the family of a Gloucestershire knight, till, for his own safety, and the sake of the family, he was obliged to withdraw. He was eminently one of those fit instruments which are never wanting when any great design of Providence is to be brought about ; a man devoted to learning, zealous for truth, and of irreproachable life. While engaged in itinerant preaching, he formed the intention of translating the New Testament ; the language of Wicliffe's version had become obsolete, and it was a prohibited book. Tindal meant to render it from the original Greek. Humphrey Monmouth, a wealthy and benevolent citizen, approving of his views, engaged to supply

him with ten pounds a year ; other good men contributed something, and, travelling into Germany, he conferred with Luther and others of the great Protestant divines, and then settled in Antwerp.

The Romanists knew perfectly well how little the practice of their church was supported by Scripture. No sooner did they discover that copies of the new translation were industriously dispersed, and eagerly bought in England, than it was prohibited. But a spirit had been roused which no persecution could suppress. Dangerous as it was to possess the book, it was eagerly sought for, and of those who dispersed it, many were punished. But burning the Testament was regarded with displeasure by those who regarded the burning of those who read it with composure. Sir Thomas More was requested by Tonsal to write and publish against Tindal's translation, for which purpose, a license to read it was granted to him.

Sir Thomas More would, in any age of the world, have ranked among the wisest and best of men. But the circumstances wherein he was placed, were peculiarly unpropitious

to his disposition, his happiness, and his character. His high station as chancellor compelled him to take an active part in public affairs; and in forwarding the work of persecution, he believed himself discharging a religious duty. The intolerance, which in his contemporaries appeared consistent with themselves and the times, seemed monstrous in him, who, in other points, was so far advanced beyond his age. He was contented with the church as it stood; and, in the strength of his attachment to its better principles, loved some of its errors, and excused others. Characteristically devout, the imaginative part of Catholicism had its full effect upon him; he delighted in its splendid ceremonies, its magnificent edifices, its alliance with music, painting, and sculpture. But the impelling motive for his conduct was, his assent to the tenet, that belief in the doctrines of the church was essential to salvation. He thought it an act of charity to burn heretics, for the purpose of deterring others from damnation. The first of his controversial works was not unworthy of the author, and the worse cause had the better advocate.

Sir Thomas took the opportunity, while he defended the Church of Rome upon all the main points, to comment upon some of its scandalous practices. Still it was tinctured with the bitterness of the Romish spirit, and the heretics were spoken of as branches cut from the vine, and reserved only for the fire, first here, and afterwards in hell.

Among the men of note among the réformers, who wrote in defence of Tindal, was John Frith. He was removed from Cambridge to Oxford, by Wolsey. He had become the friend and disciple of Tindal during his abode at Cambridge; and, having manifested his heretical opinions, was obliged to flee to the continent. On his return, he was apprehended at Reading, where the schoolmaster of the town, hearing him bewail himself in Latin, became interested in so accomplished a scholar, and procured his liberty. He had come over to diffuse his opinion at all risks; and yet, with a fervor approaching to enthusiasm, in his love of the truth, few of the reformers were so temperate in their opinions. Tindal, in writing to him at the time, says: "There liveth not in whom



I have so good hope and trust, and in whom my heart rejoiceth, as in you. I am rude, dull, speechless, and slow-witted. Your part shall be to supply what lacketh in me, remembering that, as lowliness of heart shall make you high with God, even so weakness of words shall make you sink into the hearts of men." When this letter was delivered to Frith, he was in the tower, a paper of his having been treacherously given to Sir Thomas More, who thereupon used all means of discovering him, and finally succeeded.

Tindal, hearing of his danger, encouraged him by his letters to suffer constantly. Your cause, said he, is Christ's gospel; a light that must be fed with the blood of faith. The lamp must be dressed daily, and that oil poured in, evening and morning, that the light go not out. Frith needed not these stirring exhortations. When taken to Croydon for examination, by two of the archbishop's people, the men were so won by his discourse, that they devised a plan for letting him escape, and proposed it to him. He refused, with a smile, saying he was not afraid to deliver his opinion. Being brought

for final examination before Stokesley and Gardiner, he was condemned by them as a wicked and stiff-necked heretic, persisting, with damnable obstinacy, in his opinions, for which they excommunicated him, and left him to the secular power.

A young man, who expressed his resolution to follow Frith's example, was taken with him to Smithfield, and fastened to the same stake. A priest admonished the people in no wise to pray for them, no more than they would for a dog; words which excited indignation in the multitude, but moved Frith only to a compassionate smile, and a prayer for his persecutors. His last expression was one of thankfulness that the wind had shortened the sufferings of his companion in martyrdom. Tindal did not long survive his friend. He was betrayed into the hands of the emperor's court at Brussels, and was put to death by strangling, before he was burnt. He is described as without spot or blemish of rancor or malice; full of mercy and compassion; so that no man living was able to reprove him of any sin or crime. Before Tindal's martyrdom, Miles Coverdale's trans-

lation of the Bible, which was a complete version, was allowed to be used. Injunctions to the clergy were issued by the king's authority, that the whole Bible, both in Latin and English, should be placed in every parish church, and that all men should be encouraged and exhorted to read it as the very word of God.

This change was brought about by Cranmer. The decided manner in which Anne Boleyn promoted the great religious change, has given historical importance to a life, which, otherwise, would have afforded only a theme for tragedy. The splendor of a crown dazzled her, and, in her otherwise unmerited fate, she was punished for this offence. It was by her influence that Bilney's convert, Latimer, was made bishop of Worcester. He, more than any other man, promoted the Reformation by his preaching. The forward honesty of his remarks, his homely wit, the simplicity of his heart, the sincerity of his understanding, gave life and vigor to his sermons when delivered, and render them now the most amusing productions of that age.

The public feeling was now in favor of

reformation, for the Romanists had injured their own cause, and the martyrs had not suffered in vain. An act was passed, by which the clergy were deprived of the power of committing men on suspicion of heresy. In other respects, the laws, inhuman as they were, were left in force.

A nun in Kent was encouraged to feign revelations ; she predicted, that if Henry persisted in his purpose, and married Anne, he should not be king a month longer, nay, not an hour, but should die a villain's death. Henry bore this insolence with patience, but when he perceived that her accomplices had communicated with Queen Catharine, the affair assumed a serious aspect, and the parties were apprehended. She was then executed, with five of her associates, for treason, acknowledging the justice of her sentence. Among the persons who were implicated in this affair, was Fisher, bishop of Rochester, an old and venerable man, who had been forward in persecuting the reformers. Sir Thomas More, also, was accused of having communicated with the nun. But he acted with more judgment and better temper, when Cromwell

invited him, also, to exculpate himself. He expressed more belief in her revelations than he ought to have done, after she herself had told him that the devil was caught in her chamber in the shape of a bird, and acknowledged that he had visited her once and desired her prayers, and written to her, advising her not to meddle with affairs of state.

This explanation availed as it ought. But Sir Thomas had resigned the chancellorship, when Henry had determined upon divorcing himself; this had given offence, and Henry was a man upon whose heart enmity took deeper hold than love. He had formerly delighted in More's conversation, but the latter now saw that it was probable some perilous question might arise, in which he must sacrifice either his conscience or his life, and he had endeavored to prepare his family for the worst. When the summons came, he would not suffer his wife and children to accompany him to the boat, but kissed them, and desired their prayers. For awhile, he sat in silence, then thanked God that the field was won, and resumed his habitual cheerfulness.

The matter upon which he was called for, was the oath of the succession. He said he would swear to the act of succession, but not to the preamble maintaining the lawfulness of the divorce. He was therefore committed to the abbot of Westminster's keeping, till the council should have determined how to proceed. Fisher had, in like manner, offered to swear to the act, but refused the preamble; and if Cranmer's advice had been taken, this would have been deemed sufficient. But Henry was a sovereign not to be dissuaded from his purposes, and he looked upon More and Fisher as his determined enemies. It was essential that his supremacy should not be opposed, and it was necessary, also, that it should be recognized by the heads of the clergy. The proper course would have been to require its recognition from all who chose to retain their professional rank and preferment. Upon those who made their choice rather to resign, no farther restraint should have been imposed. Henry's appetite for cruelty had not yet been kindled, and he appears reluctantly to have put to death some Carthusians who denied his supremacy.

Some of them were men of family and learning, whom he would fain have persuaded to submission. His feelings were those of an absolute king; he had rendered the church dependent upon him, and the commons had not risen into power. Parliament was, therefore, the mere instrument of his will, and the only restraint upon him was found in the integrity of his counsellors.

When the king perceived that nothing could shake Sir Thomas More's resolution, he ordered him to be brought to trial. After the indictment had been read, pardon and favor were offered him, if he would lay aside what the court called his obstinacy, and change his opinion. "Most noble lord," he replied, "I have great reason to return thanks to your honors, for this your great civility; but I beseech Almighty God that I may continue in the mind that I am in, through his grace, unto death." A witness was brought against him, to whose testimony Sir Thomas objected, the man being a notorious liar. Two persons were called upon to confirm this villain's evidence, and both declined doing it.

Yet, upon this testimony, the jury found him guilty.

Sir Thomas then spoke resolutely out, and maintained that judgment ought not to be pronounced against him, because the act on which the indictment was founded, was directly repugnant to the laws of God, contrary to Magna Charta, and to the coronation oath. He concluded, in his naturally mild temper, by praying that, though their lordships were now judges to his condemnation, they might meet hereafter joyfully in eternal life. He had surrendered his better mind to the superstitions of the Romish church, but now his equanimity never forsook him, and he laid his head upon the block with the cheerfulness of a man assured of his reward. Fisher was beheaded a few days before him. The execution of these eminent men, the one nearly fourscore, was regarded throughout Christendom with wonder and detestation. As persecutors, both had sinned, and both died as unjustly as they had brought others to death.

Cranmer's advice was taken as to the dissolution of the monasteries, which had long



been predicted. Wolsey in the plenitude of his power, procured bulls from the pope for suppressing forty of them, and endowing the two colleges which he intended to found, with their possessions. The observant Franciscans had incensed the king by the part they had taken in the nun's imposture, and, from resentment, he suppressed that order of friars. Visitors were commissioned to report concerning the state of the monasteries, their discipline and possessions. The practice of thrusting children into them prevailed every where, and they were compelled to bind themselves by irrevocable vows. Coining was detected in some houses; the blackest and foulest crimes in others. It was in the lesser monasteries that the worst abuses were found, and this afforded a plea for suppressing them. A bill was passed, conferring them on the crown; and, by this act, three hundred and seventy-five convents were dissolved, and some ten thousand persons were cast upon the world. The king became possessed of about ten thousand pounds in plate, and a clear yearly revenue of thirty thousand pounds. If the plea for this act had not been undenia-

bly notorious, the greater abbots, of whom six and twenty voted in parliament, would never have consented to it. It is to be hoped, that some who were liberated, enjoyed it, but many who were ejected must have gone down in misery to the grave. Queen Catharine did not live to witness these proceedings, which would have grieved her more than her own injuries. It is remarkable that her affection for Henry continued to the last. In her farewell letter, she expressed a tender anxiety for his soul, and declared that "her eyes desired him above all things." Shame may have prevented Henry from gratifying this desire. The thorough hardness of his heart was shown soon afterwards, when he declared his marriage with Anne Boleyn void, beheaded her upon a false and monstrous charge, and married Jane Seymour the next day. This change produced no alteration in religious affairs, for the new queen was of a family which favored the Reformation. Certain articles were set forth in the king's name as head of the Church of England, which could satisfy neither party. The Bible and the three creeds were made the standard of faith;

no mention being made of tradition nor of the decrees of the church. Three sacraments,—those of baptism, penance and the altar,—were said to be necessary to salvation; four being thus pretermitted. The existing rites and ceremonies were to be retained, images were allowed as useful, and prayers for the dead were advised as good and charitable, though the question of purgatory was said to be uncertain by Scripture. The discontent which these measures occasioned was fomented by certain of the clergy, and by those men who were ready for any desperate undertaking. The Lincolnshire men rose in arms upon this quarrel, and their insurrection assumed so serious an aspect, that Henry marched with an army against them. The leaders were dismayed, and sent their complaints to the king in the form of a petition. He returned an answer in which he reasoned with them and sternly reprov'd their treason, requiring them to deliver up a hundred of their ringleaders to his justice. Terrified by this demand, every man endeavored to shift for himself, and such of the leaders as could be apprehended were put to death.

The discontent assumed a more formidable aspect in the North. A hundred thousand men collected in Yorkshire, and they called their march "the pilgrimage of grace." Priests having crosses went before them, and every where they replaced the monks and nuns in the suppressed monasteries. Men of family and influence were engaged in this rebellion, and Pomfret Castle was yielded to them by the archbishop of York and Lord Darcy. Encouraged by the rising in Yorkshire, the people rose also in Lancashire, Westmoreland and Durham. The earl of Shrewsbury made head against the insurgents with what force he could collect, and the king appointed him to the command in chief, and sent him succor with all speed. The leader of the insurgents was one Robert Aske, a gentleman of mean estate but of great talents. One of the leaders assumed the title of "the earl of poverty." A herald was sent to summon them to lay down their arms. Aske received him sitting in state, Lord Darcy on one side, and the archbishop on the other, and would not allow him to publish the proclamation. Upon this, the king summoned all the

nobles to meet him at Northampton, and time was thus gained for negotiation.

The articles which the insurgents demanded were drawn up by the clergy among them. They required a general pardon, the establishment of courts of justice, the restoration of the papal authority, of the Princess Mary to her rights of succession, and of the suppressed convents, the removal of Cromwell and the chancellor, and the punishment of the Lutherans. These demands were rejected; but Norfolk was authorised to offer a general pardon, and promise that a parliament should soon be called, in which their demands should be considered. They gladly accepted these terms, and the pardon was signed, on condition that they submitted and returned to their obedience. A proclamation accompanied the pardon, requiring them to remove the monks, nuns and friars whom they had reestablished. Aske was made prisoner, and put to death. Lord Darcy was brought to trial, and was beheaded. Many suffered by martial law, and some of the great abbots were executed. This struggle hastened the dissolution of those monasteries which had hitherto been spared.

The manner in which many convents were surrendered, shows how weary the members were of their way of life. The king's purpose was to appropriate eighteen thousand pounds a year for the endowment of new bishoprics, but a third part only of what he purposed was performed. The rest of his property was squandered among his rapacious favorites, and no trifling part the king himself gambled away. His subjects were more scrupulous, for when the first religious house which was demolished, was offered, by Sir Thomas Audley, to any one who would take the materials down, no man would accept the offer. This feeling soon yielded to cupidity, and the abominable frauds of the Romish church being detected, hastened its downfall. More pieces of the true cross were produced, than would have made a whole one, and as many teeth of St. Apollonia, which had been distributed as amulets against tooth-ache, as would fill a tun. There was a crucifix which had been a favorite object of pilgrimage because the image upon it moved its head, hands, and feet, and made many other gestures which were represented as miraculous,

but the mechanism whereby all this was done, was now exposed to the public. Shrines and treasures were now thought to be rightfully seized, which had been procured by such gross impositions, and the gold from Becket's shrine alone, was a load for eight strong men.

The pope had long threatened to issue a bull of deposition, and when Becket was uncanonized, it was immediately fulminated, requiring the king and his accomplices to appear at Rome on pain of excommunication. He interdicted the kingdom, and in his letters to the different potentates which accompanied the bull, he called Henry a heretic, an adulterer, and a murderer. But the throne of England was no longer to be shaken by such thunders. Even the Romish bishops joined in the declaration which Henry set forth, that Christ had forbidden his apostles or their successors to take to themselves the authority of kings.

Among those who assented to the king's measures, was Gardiner, who, of all men, was at heart most inimical to the Reformation. He has been described as "a man whose abilities qualified him for any employment,

but who alway, as he grew elder, grew worse," and his countenance, which indicated capacity of mind, was also strongly marked by craft and implacable severity.

The Reformation had been advancing rapidly; the translation of the Bible which Tindal began, was licensed in England under the privy seal, and ordered to be provided in all parish churches.

The birth of Prince Edward was not less favorable to the reformers, though their joy at this event was abated by the death of Queen Jane. If Henry ever felt a real affection for any of his wives, it was for her, and it was considered as a proof of his grief that he continued two years a widower.

Henry valued the abilities of Gardiner, yet saw his meanness, and was not aware that he himself was sometimes influenced by the subtlety which he despised. An unhappy opportunity was soon afforded this evil counsellor, for urging this advice with success. There was a pupil of the martyr Bilney, John Lambert by name, who found it necessary to leave the kingdom, and who continued for some time at Antwerp, till, at Sir Thomas



More's instigation, he was seized and brought to England. The change of measures which ensued upon the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn, saved him then from the stake. Not long afterwards, some papers which he had written upon transubstantiation, were laid before Cranmer, as containing heresy. Lambert appealed from the bishops to the king, and Henry took up the cause with a high hand; he was judge as well as disputant at the trial, and ordered Cromwell to pass sentence upon him as a heretic. Lambert was burnt to death, with circumstances of peculiar barbarity. Gardiner was the instigator in this act of cruelty, and Cranmer, who had listened to the first accusation, had no control over the subsequent proceedings. It was the misfortune of the latter, that some of the clergy who coöperated with him, were deficient, either in temper or discretion. Ignorant persons no sooner read the Bible, than they took upon themselves to expound it, interrupting the church service by thus holding forth, discussing points of Scripture in ale-houses and taverns. A proclamation was issued forbidding all unlicensed persons to preach, or

teach the Bible, and six articles, which had the force of laws, were shortly afterwards enacted. By these it was declared, that no substance of bread or wine, remained after consecration; that it was not lawful for priests to marry, and that auricular confession was necessary to salvation. These acts were no sooner passed, than Latimer and Shaxton resigned their bishoprics, and were committed to prison. Cranmer, who was privately married to Osiander, the German reformer's niece, deemed it best to send his wife into her own country, till circumstances should become more propitious.

So many hundred persons were thrown into prison upon the six articles, that Henry himself thought it best to grant a general pardon, and this bloody act slept, till his determination to marry Catharine Howard, drew on the fall of Cromwell, whom the duke of Norfolk, uncle to the bride-elect, mortally hated. When he was accused of heresy and treason, and condemned by bill of attainder, Cranmer was the only man virtuous enough to stand forward in his defence. His interference proved unavailing, but it confirmed

the king in a just opinion of the primate's integrity.

The six articles were now enforced with extreme severity. Romanists who refused to acknowledge Henry's supremacy, and Protestants who were executed as heretics, were burnt together. Bonner, whom Cromwell and Cranmer had believed to be a friend to the Reformation, now displayed his real opinions; he brought a poor ignorant boy scarcely fifteen years of age, to trial for heresy, and compelled the jury to find a bill against him. The boy was burnt alive by this monster, who has left behind him the most execrable name in English history.

The Romanists had, at this time, great influence with the king, and even the execution of Catharine Howard did not weaken their party. Nor did the king's marriage with Catharine Parr, stop the persecution of the Protestants. Gardiner knew that the queen favored the Reformation, and an attempt was made to involve her in a charge of heresy.

Anne Askew, a lady who was admired at court, was selected as a victim, in the hope that she might be made an accuser. The

elder sister of this lady, had been contracted to a rich heir, but died before the marriage was completed. Anne was compelled to marry the intended husband of her deceased sister, who, some years afterwards, turned her out of doors, because, by diligent perusal of the Scriptures, she had become a Protestant. A papist deposed that she was the devoutest woman he had ever known, for she began to pray always at midnight, and continued for some hours in that exercise. As long as it was possible, she evaded with a woman's wit, the ensnaring questions which were proposed to her; when the lord mayor asked her "if she had said that priests could not make the body of Christ," "I have read," she replied, "that God made man, but that man can make God, I never yet read." Bonner urged her boldly to disclose the secrets of her heart, but she replied that she "had nothing to disclose;" and when he pressed her closely upon the corporeal presence, her answer was, that "she believed as the Scripture taught her."

Being again apprehended, she seems to have perceived that her fate was determined, and to have acted as if ready for the worst.

When threatened with burning, Anne said, "I have searched all the Scriptures, yet could I never find, that either Christ or his apostles put any creature to death." She also openly affirmed, that "what they called their God, was a piece of bread." She was condemned to the flames. She wrote to the king in these words: "I, Anne Askew, desire this to be known unto your grace, that I shall die in my innocency; I utterly abhor and detest all heresies, and believe so much as Christ will-ed me to follow, and so much as the Catholic Church of him doth teach; for I will not forsake the commandment of his holy lips."

Henry's heart was naturally hard, but he manifested some displeasure, when the lieutenant of the tower informed him that Chancellor Wriothesley and Rich had racked the lady Anne, a second time, with their own hands, in the hope of implicating the queen. Still he suffered his wicked ministers to consummate their crime, and a scaffold was erected in front of St. Bartholomew's Church. The execution was delayed until darkness closed in, and the victim was brought in a chair, for they had racked her until she was unable to

stand. With invincible fortitude, Anne refused even to look upon the pardon that was offered her if she would repent, and encouraged her companions in martyrdom, by her cheerful language and her constancy. At the moment the reeds around the stake were set on fire, a thunder-clap was heard, which those who sympathized with the martyrs, felt as if it were God's own voice accepting the sacrifice.

It was made a matter of accusation against the queen, that Anne Askew had been her friend, but some remaining tenderness in the king towards his wife, enabled her to recover her influence over him. The Romanists were not more successful in their attempts at the destruction of Cranmer. After Henry had consented that the archbishop should be summoned before them on the morrow, he could not sleep, but a little before midnight sent to call him from his bed. Cranmer thanked him for this warning, and said he was content to be committed to the tower for the trial of his doctrine, so he might be fairly heard. Upon this the king exclaimed, "Oh Lord! what fond simplicity have you! Do

you not know that when they have you once in prison, false knaves will be procured to witness against you and condemn you?" The king then told the archbishop that if the council refused to have his accusers confronted with him, to appeal to himself, giving him, at the same time, a ring, by which, if Cranmer was compelled to show it to the council, they would understand that Henry had taken the cause in his own hands. Accordingly, Cranmer was summoned on the following morning, and kept nearly an hour at the council-chamber door, among serving-men and lackeys. At length he was called in, and informed that he had infected the whole realm with heresy. In vain did he solicit that his accusers might be confronted with him; the council acted as Henry had foreseen, and Cranmer produced the ring. They were compelled without delay to go before the king, who received them sternly, as they had well deserved: "My lords," said he, "how have you handled my lord of Canterbury? what make ye of him, a slave? I would ye should well understand, that I account him as faithful a man towards me, as ever was prelate

in this realm." He then laid his hand upon his heart, and advised the council to put away all malice against the archbishop as they loved him. From that time, as long as Henry lived, no man dared whisper against Cranmer.

Had it not been for the influence of this primate, the Romanists would have induced the king, to take further measures to counteract the Reformation. At this time, the evil of what had been done was more apparent than the good. The preachers filled their sermons with invectives and contributed to exasperate the spirit of discord which was abroad. The Scriptures were studied less for edification by the reformers, than to seek for texts which might be applied to their opponents. The Romanists took advantage of the abuse to derogate from the Bible itself, which they treated with irreligious mockery. These abuses made the king once more prohibit the New Testament and the books of the reformers. A treaty, however, was on foot, for altering the mass into a communion, but it was broken off by the death of Henry. When the king knew himself to be dying, he



chose to have Cranmer with him. He was speechless when the archbishop arrived, but being desired to give some token that he put his trust in God, pressed the primate's hand, and soon after expired. He had revised his will a month before, expressed repentance for his detestable life, and bequeathed his soul to Almighty God. For his body, he said, "he could be content to have it buried in any place accustomed to Christians, but because he would be loth to injure that dignity whereto he had unworthily been called, he desired it might be laid in the honorable tomb which he had ordered to be prepared, and there he desired, that the remains of his true and loving wife, Queen Jane, might also be removed." In this temper Henry the Eighth departed, little suspecting how odious many of his actions would appear to posterity. Large allowances are to be made for the age in which he lived, and for his situation. If his heart had been opened to any "compunctious visitings," the ready assent with which the intimation of his will was received by obsequious counselors and servile parliaments would have repressed them. He was the munificent patron

of literature and arts, and it is to the example which he set of giving his daughters as well as his son a learned education, that England is indebted for the women and the men of the Elizabethan age. With regard to the Church of England, its foundations rest upon the rock of Scripture, not upon the character of the king by whom they were laid. Whatever were his motives, it is our part to be thankful to that all-ruling Providence which rendered even his passions and his vices, subservient to so important an end.

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## CHAPTER XI.

### EDWARD VI.

EDWARD VI. was little more than nine years of age, when he succeeded to the throne of England. With his mother's gentleness and suavity of disposition, he inherited his father's capacity, diligence, and love of learning. "No pen," says Fuller, "passeth by him without praising him, though none praise him to his full deserts." At his coronation, when

the three swords, for the three kingdoms, were brought to be carried before him, he observed, that there was one yet wanting, and called for the Bible. "That," said he, "is the sword of the spirit, and ought, in all right, to govern us, who use these for the people's safety, by God's appointment; without that sword we are nothing, we can do nothing."

His uncle, Edward Seymour, was appointed lord protector, and created duke of Somerset. The Reformation now proceeded without impediment, but plunder and havoc kept pace with it. Had the work of reform been conducted by the state as temperately as by the church, it would have been without reproach; but spoliation was the aim of the former, and reformation, only, that of the latter. Cranmer's disposition, as well as his principles, inclined him to proceed discreetly, and with moderation, in the changes which were still necessary. Ridley and Latimer, also, held the due mean between that bigotry which allows not itself to question the grounds of any opinions, and the levity which embraces new doctrines without consideration.

The first injunctions which were set forth

by the king's command, enjoined that the clergy should dissuade the people from pilgrimages and image-worship, and that all monuments of feigned miracles should be destroyed. The Lord's prayer, the creed, and the commandments, were to be recited by the priests from the pulpit, and no person who could not repeat them, should be admitted to the sacrament. Holydays were to be kept holy; but it was declared lawful for the people to work upon them in time of harvest. An act was passed, ordering that the sacrament should be administered in both kinds, conformably to our Saviour's institution, and the custom of the church for the first five centuries. Private masses were suppressed. There was great difficulty in finding persons who might be safely licensed to preach; no other means remained of stopping those headstrong men who thought that the difference between the old and the reformed church could never be made too wide, than by forbidding any person whatever to preach, except such as were licensed, the bishops themselves being included in this prohibition.

When the new office for the communion

was set forth, the point of confession was left free ; a liturgy was prepared with the same sound judgment which characterised all those measures wherein Cranmer had lead ; and so judiciously was this done, that while nothing which could offend the feelings of a reasonable Protestant was left, nothing was inserted which should prevent the most conscientious Catholic from joining in the service.

The act, which repealed all laws which required the clergy to live in celibacy, was not less important. Nothing, in the course of the Reformation, gave so much offence to the papists as the marriage of the clergy ; but one generation did not pass away before it was seen that the ministers were not withheld, by their connubial and parental ties, from encountering martyrdom, when conscience required the sacrifice. Gardiner and Bonner, refusing their consent to these momentous changes, were deprived of their sees, and imprisoned ; but no rigor was used towards them. Hardly did the Protestants deem themselves secure, when an unhappy difference arose among themselves. Hooper had brought back with him from Switzerland

some Calvinistic prejudices, and when he was appointed to the bishopric of Gloucester, refused to wear the episcopal habit at his consecration. Fuller says of Hooper, "that such as visited him once condemned him of over-austerity; who repaired to him twice, only suspected him of the same; who conversed with him constantly, commended him for sweetness of manners. Ridley was chosen to argue with him on the unreasonableness of his scruples, but their conference ended only in heating them both, and producing an ill-will which was of long continuance. Bucer and Peter Martyr, though agreeing with Hooper in wishing for the disuse of all such conformities with the Romish church, cautioned him to take heed, lest, by unseasonable and bitter sermons, he should prevent the great good which his preaching would otherwise effect. Instead of deferring to this wholesome advice, he provoked an order from the privy council, commanding him to keep his house; and as, during that restraint, Hooper published opinions which tended to widen the difference, he was sent to the Fleet prison. There, weighing the

matter dispassionately, the sincere and noble man perceived that he was wrong in his opposition; and having signified this, to the joy of the Protestant Church, he was consecrated, and took possession of his diocese.

The substitution of a table, in place of an altar, is ascribed to Hooper's influence. This alteration gave fresh opportunity for sacrilegious pillage. The halls of private men were now hung with altar-cloths, and it was a sorry house which had not somewhat of this furniture. Chalices were used for carousing cups, and horses were watered from the stone and marble coffins of the dead. Three Episcopal houses were pulled down by Somerset, to clear the site for his palace, and supply materials for it. When the church-yards were destroyed, the bones were carried away by cart-loads; which shocked the good feelings of the country so much, that when he would, in like manner, have pulled down St. Margaret's Church, the parishioners rose, and drove away the workmen. If Somerset had lived in happier times, he might have left an honorable name; but his memory is deeply stained with the guilt

of this execrable spoliation, in which no man partook more largely. He contributed to bring into England the abuse of bestowing church preferment upon laymen, and men were encouraged, by his example, to appropriate the spoil of churches and chapels. Nothing for which purchasers could be found escaped the rapacity of these plunderers. Tombs were stripped of their monumental brasses; bells to be cast into cannon were exported in such quantity, that their further exportation was forbidden, lest metal for the same use should be wanting at home.

Somerset pretended that one bell in a steeple was sufficient for summoning the people to prayers, and the country was thus in danger of losing its best music. They who divided the spoil, were not content while any thing remained untouched. The lord admiral, the protector's brother, represented that bishops ought not to be troubled with temporal concerns, and that it would be right to make them surrender their revenues, and receive an honest pension of money for their hospitality; but he received for this a memorable rebuke; the king told him that he



knew his purpose. "You have had among you," said he, "the commodities of the abbeyes, which you have consumed; some with superfluous apparel, and some at dice and cards, and now you would have the bishops' lands and revenues to abuse likewise. Set your hearts at rest; there shall no such alteration be made while I live."

Who can call to mind, without grief and indignation, the magnificent edifices which were at this time overthrown, the noblest works of architecture, and the most memorable monuments of antiquity. Glastonbury Cathedral, which was the most venerable of all for the circumstances connected with its history, was converted, by Somerset, after it had been stripped and dilapidated, into a manufactory, where refugee weavers were to set up their trade. The destruction of manuscripts was such, that Ball, who hated the monasteries, groaned over it as a shame and reproach to the nation; they were sold to grocers and chandlers; whole ship-loads were sent abroad to the bookbinders, that the vellum or parchment might be cut up in their trade; covers were torn off for their brass

bosses and clasps. In this manner, English history sustained irreparable losses, and some of the works of the ancients perished. The same spirit which converted Glastonbury into a woollen manufactory, depopulated whole domains for the purpose of converting them into sheep-farms, the tenants being turned out to beg, or rob, or starve. The most forward of the reformers did their duty manfully, in crying aloud against this iniquity in the presence of King Edward, and of the very statesmen who were most deeply implicated in the offence.

Such oppressions drove men to despair, and an insurrection broke out in Devonshire, on the day when the new liturgy was first to have been used. The parishioners declared that they would keep the old religion, as their forefathers had done, and the priests performed mass, in obedience to their demand. The news ran from one place to another, and the country was presently in a state of rebellion. The poor simple people, goaded on by priests of the old religion, put forth their demands in fifteen articles; they required that the six articles should be enforced, mass

performed in Latin, the souls in purgatory be prayed for, and the English Bible prohibited. The other demands were, that Cardinal Pole should be pardoned, and promoted to be of the king's council; that two clergymen, whom they named, should be sent to preach among them, and that their leaders should have a safe conduct, for the purpose of conferring with the king. They concluded with a protestation of loyalty.

The king, as his father had done under like circumstances, published an address to the deluded people, reasoning with them upon their propositions, and the grounds of their rebellion. They were deceived concerning the service, which was indeed none other but the old, the self-same in English as in Latin, "saving a few things taken out, so fond, that it had been a shame to have heard them in English." Touching the six articles, he said, "We, of pity, because they were bloody, took them away; and you now, of ignorance, will ask them again." Cranmer, also, wrote a calm and able answer to the fifteen articles, explaining the absurdity of the sumptuary law which they proposed.

The kingdom was, at that time, in danger of such a war as had raged in Germany. Principles which tended to the overthrow of all order were proclaimed, and prophecies circulated in their aid, that soon there should be no king in England, and that the nobles and gentry should be destroyed. The insurgents laid siege to Exeter, but the citizens, though papists, joined resolutely in its defence. Lord Russell, by the help of the merchants, finally dispersed them, with the loss of four thousand killed. Had it not been for the levelling principles which the insurgents proclaimed, this insurrection might seriously have endangered the government. The king was at war both with Scotland and France, and insurrections in the north followed close upon that in the west; but the rebels were finally defeated, and punished with sufficient severity.

The rise of Warwick, then made duke of Northumberland, produced no change in the system of government concerning religion. The discretion with which Cranmer and his colleagues proceeded in all their measures, obtained the full approbation of the foreign Protestants. Calvin, and other divines, by

whom the reformed churches were governed, devised a plan for bringing those churches to a conformity with that of England, and restoring Episcopacy for that purpose. It has been asserted that the papal court was so alarmed at this project, that they sent emissaries to England, to propagate the most dangerous opinions; thus to divide the church and bring disgrace upon it.

The inhuman execution of many Dutch and German Anabaptists in the preceding reign, seems to have deterred others from following them, but opinions of the same character were disseminated; such as that the elect had a right to take whatever their necessities required. There was one remarkable victim during this reign; a Kentish woman, who maintained that our Saviour partook of humanity only in appearance. When it was found that no reasoning could shake her confidence in this opinion, the council called upon Cranmer, to obtain a warrant for her execution. It is the saddest passage in Cranmer's life; for if he had not constrained the young king to sign the fatal order, this crime might have been averted.

It was not without remonstrance and tears that Edward signed the warrant, telling Cranmer, "he must answer for it before God."

There is another beautiful anecdote of this excellent prince, who seems, in moral feeling, to have advanced far beyond his age. Ridley had preached before him upon the pitiable condition of the poor, and the duty of those who were in authority to provide effectual means for their relief. As soon as the service was over, the king desired to speak with him, and said, "My lord, ye will such as are in authority to devise some good order for the relief of the poor; wherein I think you mean me, for I am in highest place; and, therefore, am the first that must make answer unto God, for my negligence, if I should not be careful therein." Ridley was surprised by the earnestness and sincere desire of doing his duty which he expressed; he advised him to direct letters to the lord mayor, requiring him to consult upon the matter, and Edward would not let him depart, till the letter was written. The work was zealously undertaken, and the result was, that he founded Christ's hospital for the edu-

cation of poor children ; St. Thomas' and St. Bartholomew's, for the relief of the sick ; and Bridewell for the correction and amendment of the vagabond and lewd. The king endowed these hospitals, at a time when he had scarcely strength to guide the pen. "Lord God," said he, "I yield thee most hearty thanks, that thou hast given me life thus long to finish this work to the glory of thy name." In a few days, he rendered up his spirit to his Creator, praying God to defend the realm from papistry.

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## CHAPTER XII.

### QUEEN MARY.—THE PERSECUTION.

AN attempt was made, by authority of King Edward's will, to raise Lady Jane Grey to the throne, but the principles of succession were well ascertained at that time, and were established in public opinion. Queen Mary obtained possession of her rights without the loss of a single life, and an after insurrection served only to hasten the destruction of the

Lady Jane and her husband. If any person may be excused for hating the Reformation, it was Mary. She regarded it as having arisen from her mother's wrongs, and enabling the king to complete an iniquitous and cruel divorce. Her understanding was good, but she delivered her conscience to the direction of cruel men; and, as one of her first acts had been to make Gardiner chancellor, it was evident that a fiery persecution was at hand. Many, who were obnoxious, withdrew in time, and Cranmer advised others to fly, but would not himself desert his post.

The conduct of the Protestants, as a body, was worthy of their cause. The queen at first declared that she would compel no one to embrace the religion which she had professed from her infancy, and Cardinal Pole, when he arrived as legate, protested that he came to reconcile, and not to condemn. Notwithstanding these professions, the Protestant bishops were soon dispossessed of their sees, and the marriages which the clergy had contracted were declared unlawful. Many of them, on this pretence, being committed to different prisons, a fiery process



began. John Rogers was the first martyr in the Marian persecution. After long imprisonment, he was condemned for denying transubstantiation. After his sentence was passed, he requested to speak with his wife ; "for she hath ten children," said he, "that are hers and mine, and somewhat I would counsel her what were best for her to do ;" but Gardiner refused this, affirming that she was not his wife. She met him, however, with her ten children, as he went to Smithfield, and that sight did not abate the cheerfulness of his courage ; he took his death with so calm and resolute a patience, that many who were present, blessed God for the support which had been vouchsafed him.

The second martyr, Laurence Saunders, was married, and obtained preferment during Edward's reign. He was soon selected as a victim, and Bonner desired him to give his opinion concerning transubstantiation ; he obeyed, saying, "My lord, ye do seek my blood, and ye shall have it. I pray God that ye may be so baptized in it, that ye may thereafter loathe blood-sucking, and become a better man." Having been seized, he

knew that the die was cast for death, and, by a curious effect of the mind upon the body, the emotion which he felt during his first examination, was rendered purely pleasurable. When his wife came to the prison-gate, with her infant in her arms, she was refused admittance ; but the keeper carried the infant to his father. They who were present, admired the child, upon which Saunders exclaimed : “ If there were no other cause for which a man of my estate should lose his life, yet who would not give it, to avouch this child to be legitimate, and his marriage to be lawful and holy.” This burst of feeling may explain why it was that, during this persecution, the married clergy suffered with most alacrity. When Saunders had been kept fifteen months in prison, he was brought before the council and condemned. Being thus assured of speedy death, he wrote to his wife, saying, he was shortly to be despatched to Christ, and desiring her to send him a shirt ; “ which,” said he, “ you know whereunto it is consecrated. I will not be afraid what sin, death, and hell can do against me. God bless you ! yea, he will bless thee, good wife,

and thy poor boy also. Only cleave thou unto him, and he will give thee all things." A wife who prepared the garment in which her husband was to suffer at the stake, must indeed, have been a true helpmate. This excellent martyr was sent to Coventry for execution, and Hooper was ordered to Gloucester, to suffer on the following day.

Promotion had wrought no change in this austere and conscientious prelate, who had looked to martyrdom as the probable termination of his course. When arrested, and brought to London, Gardiner's first question to him was, whether he was married. "Yea, my lord," answered Hooper, "and will not be unmarried, till death unmarry me." He answered explicitly concerning the sacrament, and was then committed to prison in the Fleet. He was there treated with such inhumanity, that the disease which ill usage produced, had nearly prevented the purpose of his enemies. Hooper was sometimes brought up for examination, and when he was conducted back, after night had closed, the candles were put out, that he might pass unseen. But the people expected his coming,

and many came out of their doors with lights, to salute and encourage him, and pray God that he would strengthen him to the end. When Hooper heard that many of the Protestants believed a report of his recantation, he wrote a letter praying that the weak brethren might be certified of the truth. "I have hitherto," said he, "left all things of this world, and suffered great pains and imprisonments, and I thank God, I am as ready to suffer death, as mortal man may be."

A few days after this letter was written, Hooper was sent in custody of the queen's guards to Gloucester. The sheriffs would have lodged him in the common jail, if these guards had not interceded, saying, that he had behaved so mildly and patiently on the way, that they would rather watch with him, than that he should be sent to the common prison. He was lodged, therefore, in a private house, and, retiring early to bed, rose after one sound sleep, and bestowed the rest of the time in prayer. It was a market-day, and about seven thousand persons were assembled at the place of execution. He went forward, led between the two sheriffs, with a staff in

his hand to stay himself withal, for the sciatica which he had taken in prison, caused him somewhat to halt. He had been ordered not to speak, but he would lift up his eyes towards heaven, and look cheerfully upon such as he knew. While he was on his knees in prayer, a box containing his pardon was brought, and laid before him. At the sight whereof he twice exclaimed, "If you love my soul, away with it!" In full reliance upon the support for which he prayed, when they fastened his neck and legs, as well as his body, by hoops of iron to the stake, he assured them, that trouble was needless, for God, he doubted not, would give him strength to abide the extremity of the fire without bands. Through all the Marian persecution, there was no other so lingering a martyrdom. But the voice with which he called upon his Redeemer, was not as the voice of one impatient or overcome with pain; he remained calm and still to the last, and died without a struggle.

On the same day that Hooper suffered martyrdom, Dr. Rowland Taylor bore his testimony to the same cause at Hadley, in Suffolk. When he was summoned before

Gardiner, his friends importuned him to escape, but he replied, "I am old, and have already lived too long, to see these terrible and most wicked days. I know the truth is so strong upon my side, that I will, by God's grace, go and appear before them, and to their beards resist them. I shall never be able to do so good service, nor have so glorious a calling, nor so great mercy of God proffered me, as at this present." When he presented himself before Gardiner, that persecutor, exclaimed, "Art thou come, thou villain? how darest thou look me in the face for shame? Knowest thou not who I am?" "Yes," quoth Taylor, "ye are Dr. Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and lord chancellor, and yet, but a mortal man, I trow. But if I should be afraid of your lordly looks, why fear you not God? How dare ye, for shame, look any Christian man in the face?" Gardiner told him he was "an arrogant knave, and a very fool." "My lord," he replied, "leave your unseemly railing; you know, he that saith 'thou fool,' is in danger of hell-fire." Presently Gardiner said to him, "Thou art married." He answered: "I thank God I

am, and have had nine children." He was then ordered to the King's Bench prison, but at that time, almost all the prisons were become right Christian schools and churches, so that there was no greater comfort than to go to them. He found in the King's Bench an excellent fellow-prisoner, John Bradford, and each looked upon the company of the other as a special mercy provided for him. The night after Taylor's degradation, his wife, with one of his sons, and John Hull, a faithful servant, were permitted to sup with him. He charged his wife to marry again as soon as God should provide her an honest and religious man, who would be a merciful father to her poor children. His wife suspected that he would be removed, and watched with one of her daughters all night in a church-porch, by which she knew he must pass. The child heard them coming, and called upon her mother. "Rowland, Rowland," said the wife, "where art thou?" for it was so dark that they could not see each other. Taylor took his daughter in his arms, and kneeling in the porch with his wife and the child, said the Lord's prayer. He then kissed

her, and bade her farewell. A little before noon, Taylor was placed on horseback and brought out of the inn. John Hull placed his son upon the horse before him. "Good people," said he, "this is mine own son, begotten in lawful matrimony, and God be blessed for lawful matrimony." He then blessed the boy, and returned him to the faithful servant. When they came to Brentwood, a close hood was made for him, with holes for the eyes and mouth, that he might not be recognised on the way. As they entered Suffolk, a number of gentry met them, and assured him that they had his pardon ready, and promised him promotion to a bishopric, if he would accept it; but their offers were in vain. As he approached Hadley, the streets were lined with people, some of whom cried out, "there goeth our good shepherd, that so faithfully hath taught us, so fatherly hath cared for us, and so godly hath governed us. Good Lord, strengthen and comfort him." When they told him that he was at the place, he exclaimed, "God be thanked! I am even at home!" The people burst into loud weeping, when they saw "his reverend and ancient face with



a long white beard," and his gray hair, which had been roughly clipped and disfigured; and they cried out, "God save thee, good Dr. Taylor." When he had undressed, he said, with a loud voice, "Good people, I have taught you nothing but God's holy word, and those lessons that I have taken out of God's blessed book, the Holy Bible, and I come hither this day, to seal it with my blood." He then knelt and prayed; and a poor woman, in spite of the guards who threatened to tread her down under their horses' feet, prayed beside him. When the fire had been kindled and he stood patient and unmoved, with his hands folded in prayer, a fellow, whose character made the action appear an impulse of brutality, rather than compassion, cleft his skull with a halberd, and the body then fell forward. Thus rendered the man of God his soul into the hands of his merciful Father.

The effect of such executions was such as the sufferers trusted it would be; not what the persecutors intended and expected. There was a baseness in the circumstances of the arrest of John Bradford, worthy of the man

to whom the business of eradicating the Reformation had been committed. When a dagger was thrown at the preacher in St. Paul's, Bradford was standing behind him in the pulpit, and the preacher seeing his life threatened, entreated him, as a man whose opinions were acceptable to the people, to come forward and protect him. Bradford accordingly quieted the turbulent congregation; but within three days he was committed to prison, charged with sedition, because of the influence which he had exercised over the populace. After a year and a half's imprisonment, he was brought up before the council; Bourne, whose life he had saved, being one. His protestations and appeals to Bourne himself were disregarded, and that prelate was vile enough to aggravate the charges against him, saying, he had done more harm by letters during his imprisonment, than ever he did by preaching when he was at large. Bradford might have escaped from prison, but he was one of those persons who believed that the cause of religion was, at this time, best to be served by bearing testimony to it in death. He comforted his mother,

and encouraged her to suffer for the truth, rather than forsake it. "Sure may we be," he said, "that of all deaths, it is most to be desired to die for God's sake." Great efforts were made to induce him to submit himself, and be reconciled to the Romish church. When they insisted upon bringing learned men to him, he assented, in order that all men might know he feared not to have his faith sifted and tried. He conversed with all their most practiced disputants, the bishop of Chichester, and the archbishop of York, among others, and Philip's confessor, Alonso de Castro. The argument turned always upon the corporal presence, and Bradford had little difficulty in making his part good. Some disputes which had arisen among his fellow-prisoners troubled him far more. Bradford was assisted in conciliating these disputants by the imprisoned prelates at Oxford, but the most effectual argument was an appeal to their common danger and their common cause. At length the keeper's wife, with great emotion, told Bradford, that, on the morrow, he must be burnt. He thanked God, and retiring into his chamber, prayed awhile

in secret, and when night came, dressed himself in a shirt which had been made by a faithful friend for his burning. The report was, that the execution was to take place at four in the morning; but it was not till nine that he was brought out from Newgate, and with him an apprentice, who was to be his stake-fellow. This lad could neither write nor read; and two papers, one a recantation, the other a confession of his opinions, were placed before him; when the latter was read to him, he pricked his hand, and sprinkling the blood upon the paper, bade them carry the bill to the bishop, and show him that he had sealed it already.

Bradford appeared as superior to pain as he had been to fear. His last audible words were, "Strait is the gate, and narrow is the way that leadeth to salvation."

Among the persons who derived strength from Bradford's exhortations, were Farrer and Ridley; the former had consented to receive the communion only in one kind, and the latter when committed to the Tower, had gone to mass there. Farrer was sent into his own diocese, and suffered at Caermarthen.

Nicholas Ridley was a man of the kindest and gentlest disposition, which was manifested in his conduct to Bonner's relations, when he succeeded to the see of London, upon that prelate's deposition. The mother and sister of Bonner were then entertained every day at his table, with as much respect as if they had been his own kindred. Ridley, as well as Cranmer, might have been proceeded against for treason, but it was for the mass that they were to suffer. After one disputation upon that question, they were sent to Oxford, and confined with Latimer in the common jail. Ridley, during his long imprisonment, wrote several epistles suited to the condition of his miserable country. He advised those who were not in captivity to fly, but he prayed every Christian brother or sister, "when brought to the wrestling-place, not to shrink nor relent one inch, nor give back, whatsoever might befall, but stand to their tackle, and stick by it, even unto death."

He wrote also an earnest and affectionate letter of farewell to his relations and friends, wherein he charged them not to be abashed at the manner of his death. Then, after bid-

ding adieu to Cambridge, to Pembroke Hall, to Canterbury Cathedral, and to Rochester, in a strain of beautiful feeling he thus addressed his late see, the metropolis: "Oh London! London! to whom now may I speak in thee? Or to whom shall I bid farewell? Shall I speak to the prebendaries of St. Paul's? Alas! all that loved God's word, are now, some burnt and slain, some exiles and banished, and some holden in hard prison, and appointed daily to be put to most cruel death, for Christ's gospel's sake." Finally, he thus addressed the universal church of Christ: "Farewell, dear brethren, and let us comfort our hearts in all troubles, and in death with the word of God; for heaven and earth shall perish, but the word of the Lord endureth forever."

In this language did Ridley express his feelings while he was looking forward to the stake. At length, commissioners from the legate were sent to Oxford to judge and condemn Latimer and himself. Ridley was called first, and appeared before them in the divinity school. He refused to uncover himself at the names of the cardinal and pope, and a

beadle was then ordered to pluck off his cap. Having then answered briefly to the articles, he was remanded, and Latimer was called in.

Latimer had been kept waiting during Ridley's examination. As soon as he entered, he said: "My lord, if I appear again, I pray you not to send to me again until you be ready, for I am an old man, and it is a great hurt to mine old age, to tarry so long gazing upon cold walls." His crazed body had not recovered from the winter's usage, and his appearance might have moved compassion in those who had not known the man; he came hat in hand, with a kerchief bound round his head, and over it a night-cap or two; his dress was an old and threadbare gown, fastened round the body with a penny girdle; his Testament was suspended from his girdle by a string, and his spectacles, without a case, were hanging from his neck, upon his breast. In reply to an exhortation of White's, upon the claims of the church, he spake of a book, lately published, in which it was argued that the clergy possessed the same authority as the Levites, and where the Bible said, that if there arose any controversy, the Levites

should decide the matter, *secundem legem Dei*, according to the law of God, — these words were left out, and the text was quoted as saying, that, as the priests should decide the matter, so it ought to be taken of the people. The bishop of Gloucester rose up, saying, that it was his book, and defended it, exclaiming: “Hereby, Master Latimer, every man may see what learning you have.” “Lo,” exclaimed the infirm old man, “you look for learning at my hands, which have gone so long to the school of oblivion, making the bare walls my library, keeping me so long in prison, without book, or pen and ink, and now, you let me loose, to come and answer to articles?” When Latimer had answered to these articles, he besought them to trouble him no more; but they insisted that he should appear again.

On the following day, the session was held in St. Mary’s Church, which had been fitted up for the occasion, with a high throne for the commissioners, and, at some distance from their feet, Ridley was set at a frame table; the space wherein the table stood, was surrounded with seats, for the heads of the university



and their friends, and the body of the building crowded with spectators. After the bishops had in vain exhorted and entreated him, he desired to state why he could not admit the authority of the pope. Before he had finished a sentence, he was silenced ; after which they excommunicated him, and delivered him to the secular powers. Latimer was next called in, and had as little liberty of speech allowed him. He was committed in like manner to the mayor's custody, till the time of execution, and the ceremony of degradation was performed upon Ridley at the mayor's house. This mockery being ended, Brooks promised to promote a supplication to the queen, which the martyr read. It related to some tenants of the see of London, who were in danger of ruin, because Bonner would not allow of the removal of their leases ; and he petitioned for his sister, whose husband Bonner had deprived of the provision which he had made for her and her family. When Ridley came to his sister's name in this supplication, his voice faltered, and, for a little while, tears prevented him from proceeding ; recovering him-

self, he said, "This is nature that moveth me, but I have now done."

On the following day, Latimer and Ridley were led to the place of execution. These sacrifices were always introduced by a sermon. Ridley was not allowed to answer the one preached upon this occasion, and his mouth was stopped after he had said, "So long as the breath is in my body, I never will deny my Lord Christ, and his known truth." He distributed such trifles as he had about him to those who were near, and they then undressed for the stake. Before, the appearance of Latimer had been that of a poor, withered, bent old man, but now he stood "bolt upright, as comely a father as one might behold."

A brother-in-law of Ridley, gave them each a bag of gunpowder, which they received with thankfulness. When the fire was brought, Latimer said, "We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as shall never be put out." The venerable old man died apparently without pain. Ridley endured a longer martyrdom, till the gunpowder exploded, and then he fell at Latimer's feet.

Gardiner had left no means untried for destroying the Lady Elizabeth ; but the queen had some consideration for public opinion, and Philip also favored his sister-in-law ; yet these circumstances might not, perhaps, have availed much longer to save her life, if Gardiner had not now been summoned to his account. Fox, has characterized him as " neither true Protestant, nor right Papist ; neither constant in his error, nor yet steadfast in the truth ; neither a friend to the pope, and yet a perfect enemy to Christ." His last words were, " I have sinned with Peter, but I have not wept with Peter."

The details which have here been given, relate only to men, conspicuous either in character or station ; but the persecutors were not contented with these victims ; they sent artificers, and husbandmen, women, and boys, to the stake. It is to be observed of these martyrs in humble life, that they suffered not for obtruding their belief, but for refusing to renounce it ; they continued modestly in their station, none presuming to invade the ministerial functions, nor adventuring to preach,

save only their real sermon of patience at their death.

Two leaders in this "noble army of martyrs," had been reserved till after Gardiner's death, — Philpot and Cranmer ; the latter was the especial object of the queen's vengeance ; the former, the persecutors seemed more than usually desirous of converting, because of his connections, his abilities, and his temper. At the commencement of this bloody reign, he was one of the six clergy, who opposed in convocation, the restoration of popery, and he was the most ardent of them. He was brought before the commissioners at Newgate, and ordered by them to be confined in the bishop's coal-house. Bonner put on an appearance of unusual courtesy towards Philpot. He sent food to him and his fellows, and when he was brought before him, accosted him with apparent good-will. After the examination, he ordered him to the cellar, to drink a cup of wine, and then remanded him to the coal-house. "Where," said the martyr, "I, with six fellows, do rouse together in straw, as cheerful, we thank God, as others do on their beds of down !" In a subsequent ex-

amination, Story reviled him for an ignorant, fantastical, and beastly heretic. "These heretics," said he, "have always some token of fear, whereby a man may know them; but I despatch them; and I tell thee, there hath been yet never a one burnt, but I have spoken with him, and have been the cause of his despatch." Bonner said to the prisoner, "Philpot, if there be any pleasure I may show you in my house, I pray you require it, and you shall have it." "My lord," he replied, "the pleasure that I will require of your lordship, is to hasten my judgment, which is committed unto you, and to despatch me forth of this miserable world, unto my eternal rest." The lords of the council were present at the next examination, when there was a great debate, whether the judges of the law could decide the meaning of a statute even contrary to the express words. It was maintained that they could, by those who argued thence, that the Church of Rome might decide upon the interpretation of the word of God. After further debate upon the corporal presence, Dr. Chedsey told Philpot, that he had been so put to silence by his opponents, that he fell

to weeping, because he had nothing further to say. "That I wept," replied Philpot, "was not for lack of matter, for I thank God, I have more matter than the best of you shall ever be able to answer; but my weeping was as Christ's was upon Jerusalem, seeing the destruction that should fall upon the church." The point of transubstantiation was now insisted upon, and Bonner displayed himself in his natural character. "Thou art too well handled," he said; "thou shalt be worse handled hereafter, I warrant thee." "If to be in a blind coal-house without fire or candle, may be counted good handling, then may it be said I am well handled. Your lordship hath power to entreat my body as you list."

Bonner then read a libel against him, charging him with denying baptism, fasting, prayer, and all good works; and teaching that faith was sufficient, whatever a man's actions might be, and that God was the author of all sin and wickedness. "Did I maintain these things," said Philpot, "I were well worthy to be counted a heretic, and to be burnt a hundred times if it were possible." His judges ended as usual, by delivering him over to the sequ-

lar arm, and he suffered in Smithfield, manifesting, to the last, the same collected mind and firm faith which he had shown in all his trials.

Cranmer seems to have been kept alive thus long, that he might taste the bitterness of death in every separate martyrdom of his friends. The Romanists hated him, as the person by whom the Reformation had been conducted; the manner in which the Protestants regarded him, was thus expressed by Ridley: "miserable and hard-hearted is he, whom the godliness and constant confession of so *worthy*, so *grave*, and *innocent* a man, will not move to acknowledge and confess the truth of God." Cranmer was first attainted of treason, and adjudged guilty of it; upon this point he solicited pardon, and Mary granted it, not as an act of mercy, but that he might be proceeded against as a heretic. After his removal to Oxford, he, with Ridley and Latimer, was brought forward to hold a disputation with the Romanists, that the latter might adjudge the victory to themselves! He was arraigned for blasphemy, incontinency, and heresy, before the same commissioners,

who condemned his fellow-prisoners, and maintained his cause with his wonted learning and gentleness. Depositions concerning the doctrines he had preached were taken against him, and he was cited to appear at Rome in person, within eighty days. This was a mere mockery, for they did not even wait till the term was expired, before they degraded him. That this ceremony might be more insulting, the vestments were made of rags and canvass; and in this plight, with a mock mitre and pall, and a crosier in his hands, he was exhibited in St. Mary's, while the brutal Bonner exclaimed: "This is the man that hath despised the pope, and now is to be judged by him."

From that time, Cranmer was dealt with very differently from any of the former sufferers, for he was removed to the house of the dean of Christ Church, and treated with every possible indulgence, in the hope of prevailing upon a mind which was naturally timid. That they succeeded is certain, but it is doubtful to what extent; the probability is, that he signed an equivocal recantation. That after this, it should have been determin-



ed, not only to put him to death, but to burn him alive, was a cruelty beyond that of the Inquisition itself. Many circumstances made Cranmer apprehend that his death was intended, and he had prepared accordingly. About nine in the morning, he was taken to St. Mary's Church, where the sermon was to be delivered, because it was a day of heavy rain. A Romanist who was present, was yet in spite of his heart-hardening opinions, touched with compassion at beholding him. "I think," said he, "there was none that pitied not his case, and feared not his own chance, to see so noble a prelate, so grave a counsellor, of so long-continued honor, after so many dignities, in his old age, to be deprived of his estate, and adjudged to die so painful a death." Cole, who preached the sermon, exhorted the auditors, to note by this example, that the queen would spare no man in this cause, whatever might be his rank or character. Finally, he comforted Cranmer, and promised him that immediately after his death, masses and funeral service should be performed for his soul. "With what great grief of mind," says John Fox, "Cranmer stood hearing this

sermon, the outward shows of his body and countenance did better express, than any man could declare. Those which were present testify, that they never saw, in any child, more tears than burst out from him at that time." When the sermon was ended, the preacher desired all the people to pray for the sufferer. "And I think," says the Roman Catholic spectator, "there was never such a number so earnestly praying together; for they that hated him before, now loved him for his conversion; and they that loved him before, could not suddenly hate him, having hope of his confession again of his fall." When Cole said to him, "I pray you master Cranmer, that you will perform that you promised not long ago;" he replied, "I will;" but first asked the prayers of all the people, and offered up a most touching one himself. No prayer had ever been composed and uttered in deeper misery, nor with more earnest and devout contrition. He then addressed the spectators calmly and deliberately, proceeding with a caution which it would have been impossible to have observed thus to the last, if he had not attained to the most per-

fect self-possession in this trying hour. He repeated the apostles' creed, and declared his belief in every article of the Catholic faith, and in the New and Old Testament. "And now," he continued, "I come to the great thing which troubleth my conscience ; and that is the setting abroad of writings contrary to the truth, which now here I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand, contrary to what I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be ; and that is all such bills and papers as I have written or signed with my hand, since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue." He had time to add, "As for the pope, I refuse him as antichrist, and as for the sacrament, I believe as I have taught." The papists were at first too much astonished to interrupt him. When he would have spoken more, the Romanists made an uproar ; and Cranmer was now pulled down from the stage, and carried to the stake, surrounded by priests and friars who called upon him to renounce his errors, with promises of heaven, and threats of everlasting torments. He had overcome the weakness of his nature,

and after a short prayer, put off his clothes, with a cheerful countenance and willing mind. His head was perfectly bald, but his beard was long and thick, and his countenance so venerable, that it moved even his enemies to compassion. When once more called upon to stand to his recantation, he stretched forth his right arm and replied, "This is the hand that wrote it; and therefore it shall suffer punishment first." True to his purpose, all the people saw it sensibly burning, before the fire reached any other part of his body, and often he repeated with a loud and firm voice, "This hand hath offended; this unworthy right hand." Never did martyr endure the fire with more invincible resolution; no cry was heard from him save that of the martyr Stephen, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." Looking up to heaven, and anticipating the rest into which he was about to enter, he yielded up that spirit. The fire did its work soon, and his heart was found unconsumed among the ashes.

Of all the martyrdoms during this great persecution, this was the most injurious to the Romish cause, for it disproved their assertion,

that the constancy of the martyrs proceeded from the pride of consistency, and the shame of retracting what they had so long professed. Cranmer had retracted, and the sincerity of his contrition for that sin, was too plain to be denied, too public to be concealed, too memorable ever to be forgotten.

The persecution continued with unabating rigor during the whole of this abominable reign, and persons who neither books nor sermons would have reached, were converted to the Protestant faith, by the constancy of the sufferers. Their fortitude and the manifest sympathy of the people, provoked the persecutors to further cruelty; what they could not effect by the fear of death, they hoped to accomplish by torments and imprisonment, and their victims were scourged and beaten, tortured with fire, and deprived of food. The Roman Catholic princes had determined to root out what they called heresy, by fire and sword. The only measure wanting to perpetuate the spiritual bondage of the nation, was the establishment of the Inquisition; and this, in all likelihood, would have been done, if Mary's unhappy life had been

prolonged. The spirit of its laws had been already introduced, but the secrets of the prison-house could not be concealed. Every where the victims found some one who commiserated them, and assisted them in communicating with their friends.

During the four years that this persecution continued, two hundred and eighty-eight persons were burnt alive; and the loss of property in London alone, consequent upon the arrest or flight of so many substantial citizens, was estimated at three hundred thousand pounds. The spirit of the nation sunk, and the character and prosperity of the English would have been irrecoverably lost, if God, in his mercy, had not cut short this abominable tyranny.

• Not a week before the death of the queen, three women and two men were burnt at Canterbury. This sacrifice is imputed to the individual cruelty of Harpsfield, a person conspicuous among the persecutors of that time. He hurried on this execution, when such cruelties were in other places suspended, because the queen's death was daily looked for.

Mary left none to lament her, and there

was not even the semblance of sorrow for her loss. She died in the morning; in the afternoon, the bells of the churches in London, were rung for the accession of Elizabeth; and at night, bonfires were made, and tables set out in the street, at which the citizens caroused.

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## CHAPTER XIII.

### QUEEN ELIZABETH.

THE people had not been so ready to restore the Romish religion at Mary's accession, as they were now to escape from its intolerable yoke. When Queen Elizabeth made her public entrance into London, a pageant was prepared in Cheapside, wherein Truth presented her with the English Bible, upon which was written, "*Verbum veritatis.*" Elizabeth kissed the book, and then laid it reverently upon her breast, to the joy of the beholders.

Elizabeth's life had been in imminent danger during the reign of her sister. On the way to her coronation, she expressed a due

sense of the perils from which she had been preserved, in this prayer, as follows : " O Lord, Almighty and everlasting God, I give thee most hearty thanks, that thou hast been so merciful unto me, as to spare me to behold this joyful day ; and I acknowledge that thou hast dealt as wonderfully and as mercifully with me, as thou didst with thy servant Daniel ; even so was I overwhelmed, and only by Thee delivered. To Thee, therefore, only, be thanks, honor, and praise forever."

St. Paul's Cross, was supplied with a safe preacher, in the person of Dr. Bill, the queen's chaplain and almoner. The necessity of this precaution appeared, when White, the bishop of Winchester, preached the late queen's funeral sermon, extolling her conduct, and uttering bitter denunciations against the heretics. The bishop was ordered to keep his house, for the offence he had given by this discourse. But Elizabeth had resolved to proceed mildly and temperately, as well as firmly, in establishing the reformed faith.

All preaching was forbidden for a time, till the queen and the three estates in parliament, should have consulted for the recon-



cilement of matters of religion. When the bill for restoring the supremacy of the crown was debated in parliament, it was opposed by the bishops, who asserted, that they could not grant, neither could she receive, the spiritual government of the realm. The bishop of Chester made an unhappy speech, against restoring the reformed liturgy, and the infamous persecutor, Story, went beyond him in boldness. He boasted that he had thrown a fagot in the face of an earwig, as he called him, who was singing psalms at the stake; and how he had thrust a thorn-bush under his feet to prick him, wishing that he had done more. Even this insolence did not provoke the government to depart from the temperate course it had laid down. A public disputation was appointed, with full liberty of speech, and perfect safety for the Romish disputants. The queen ordered that it should be managed in writing, but when it came to the point, the Romanists refused to dispute at all. Elizabeth suffered no vindictive measures to be taken against the persecutors, and the strongest mark which she manifested of her own displeasure, was in refusing to let Bonner

kiss her hand. The archbishop of York, and all the other bishops, had refused to perform the ceremony of crowning her, except Oglethorpe of Carlisle, because she forbade the host to be elevated in her presence. She summoned them, with the other heads of the clergy, and required them to take into serious consideration the affairs of the church, and expel from it all schisms and superstitions. Heath answered in the name of his brethren, by entreating her to call to mind the covenants between her sister and the holy see. Without delay she then deprived the refractory bishops, Kitchen of Landaff being the only one who conformed. There were but fourteen living, many having died in the great mortality at the close of the preceding reign. The vacant sees were filled by Parker, Grindall, Cox, Sands, Jewell, and others ; men worthy to be held in lasting remembrance and honor, who had escaped during the Marian persecution, by retiring to the continent, or secreting themselves at home.

It had been one chief cause of consolation to the martyrs, to think that so many of their brethren were safe, reserved, as they doubted

not, for this great work. Three of the Protestant bishops now returned from exile; Barlow, Scory, and good old Miles Coverdale. By their hands, Parker was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury. This excellent prelate had been chaplain to Queen Anne Boleyn, who, a little before her death, particularly commended her daughter Elizabeth to his care. He was now in the fifty-fourth year of his age, when Cecil and Sir Nicholas Bacon fixed upon him for the fittest man for the primacy at this important time. Parker, with unaffected humility, sought to decline this great promotion, and told Bacon, on whose friendship he relied, that his wish was to occupy himself in dispensing God's word among the poor simple strayed sheep of God's fold, in destitute parishes and cures. But Elizabeth's wise ministers knew Parker's worth, and would admit of no excuse.

The lord keeper, Bacon, at the dissolution of the first parliament, spoke of the enemies to the religion now reëstablished. "Comprehending," he said, "as well those that were too swift, as those that were too slow." The immediate danger was from the Romanists,

but their policy, fortunately accorded with the views of the government; for they had determined to retain what benefices they held, at the expense of outward conformity. With such unanimity did they act, that of nine thousand and four hundred beneficed clergy, only one hundred and seventy-seven resigned their preferment, rather than acknowledge the queen's supremacy.

The government endeavored to bring about the great change with as little injury as possible to individuals, and as little offence to the feelings, and even prejudices, of the people. The effect was, an almost general conformity on the part of the Romanists, till they were required by the papal court to pursue a different course. Heath, and others of the deprived bishops, addressed a letter to the queen, entreating her to listen to them, rather than to those evil counsellors who were leading her astray.

Elizabeth replied to this letter instantly, denying their assertion, that Christianity had first been planted in England by the Romish church, and warning them, for the future, that she would hear nothing more of the kind.

The queen was contented with thus reprimanding them; but when it appeared that some of these bishops encouraged a seditious spirit in those who flocked to them, it was found necessary to place them under some degree of restraint. Heath was confined, for a short time, in the Tower, and Tonsal and Thirlby were committed to the gentle custody of Parker. Bonner was committed to the Marshalsea, and dared not go out, because of the hatred of the people. He never betrayed the slightest compunction for the cruelties which he had committed, but maintained, to the last, the same coarse and insolent temper. The other bishops lived unmolested, except Watson, whom it was deemed necessary to commit to close prison.

It was now the Romanists' turn to plead conscience, and argue that gentle usage ought to be afforded to those whose only offence consisted in a difference of opinion upon religious subjects. The queen had recalled the English resident from Rome, but the pope ordered him, on pain of excommunication, not to leave the city. Pius IV. soon succeeded to the papacy, and, on his acces-

sion, despatched a nuncio to England, with secret instructions and a conciliatory letter. But Elizabeth had chosen the better part, and the nuncio, while on his way, was informed that he could not be permitted to set foot in England.

The rooted enmity that existed at this time between the two great Catholic kingdoms of France and Spain, contributed essentially to Elizabeth's preservation during the first years of her reign.

The king of France claimed the kingdom of England for his son, in Mary of Scotland's right, and urged the pope to declare Elizabeth illegitimate, and Mary the lawful queen. But this, Philip's influence prevented. When Mary, by the death of Henri, was left a widow, she sought an asylum in England, and became a point of hope as well as an object of commiseration to the English Catholics. The queens of England and Scotland were so situated that it was scarcely possible for them to think or act justly towards each other. Mary, as a Romanist, believed Elizabeth to be illegitimate; and, therefore, thought herself entitled to the

crown of England. Elizabeth would have better consulted her own safety and honor by sending her rival to France, than by detaining her in durance. An insurrection, in which the Scotch Romanists were to have joined, broke out in the north, but was easily suppressed. The pope now openly called upon the English Romanists to rebel, publicly excommunicating Elizabeth, and forbidding her subjects to obey her, or her laws. A Romanist publicly set up this bull upon the palace gates of the bishop of London, and made no attempt to escape.

Hitherto, the conduct of Elizabeth's government towards the Romanists had been tolerant and conciliatory, but severer statutes were now necessary. It was made treasonable to deny that she was the lawful sovereign, or to affirm that she was a heretic, schismatic, or infidel. If the horrors of Queen Mary's reign had not been fresh in remembrance, the character of the Romish church would have been sufficiently displayed, by the persecutions exercised in Elizabeth's age, wherever it was still dominant. The parliament of Paris made a decree, declaring it

lawful to kill Huguenots wherever they could be found ; and the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day completed the crimes of that guilty city. Public rejoicings were made at Rome for this accursed event, and a solemn service of thanksgiving was performed, at which the pope himself assisted. That the blow might be more fatal to the Protestant cause, the two sons of the elector palatine had been invited from Germany, and Burleigh and Leicester, as the chief supporters of that cause, from England. On this occasion, prayers were put up in the latter country, not for the persecuted only, but for the persecutors, that their cruelty and fury might be abated.

The government of England was now compelled to act with severity against those who, under the influence of religious principle, were engaged in political plots and treason. Allen, one of these Romanists, formed the plan of a seminary abroad, where English youths might be educated for the purpose of serving the Romish faith in their own country. Colleges of this kind were successively established at Douay, Rome, Valladolid, Seville and St. Omers, which, under the



direction of the Jesuits, soon proved what they were intended to be, so many nurseries for treason. The Jesuits had risen up in the sixteenth century, performing for the papal church the same service which the mendicant orders had rendered in the twelfth. They admitted no person into their society, unless they perceived in him some qualities which might be advantageously employed, and those who proved refractory or vicious, were immediately expelled. They had domestic offices for the ignorant and lowly ; the task of education was committed to expert and patient scholars ; men of learning and genius were left to follow the bent of their own inclinations ; and while their politicians, by directing the consciences of kings, and queens, and statesmen, directed, in fact, the government of Roman Catholic kingdoms, enthusiasts and fanatics were despatched to preach the gospel among the heathen, or to pervert the Protestants. The founders of this society adapted their institution, with excellent wisdom, to the circumstances of their age. In England, no other religionists were so active ; and this was be-

cause the celebrity of the order attracted to it the most ardent and ambitious spirits. The fanatics who were of this class, who undertook to murder Elizabeth, were encouraged by a plenary remission of sins; for the principle of assassination was sanctioned by the head of the Romish church, and by the two most powerful of the papal kings. Those who propagated the doctrines contained in the bull of Pius V. were executed, not for performing mass, but for teaching that the queen of England ought to be deposed, and that it was lawful to kill her. Campian, a Jesuit, addressed a letter to the privy council, defying the heads of the English church: "Be it known unto you," he said, "that all the Jesuits in the world have made a league never to despair of your recovery while we have a man left to enjoy your Tyburn, or to be racked with your torments, or to be consumed with your prisons." Campian and his fellow-sufferers acted up to the spirit of this declaration; and, according to their own views, they died as martyrs; but they suffered for points of state and not of faith. They succeeded in raising one rebellion, which

was easily suppressed, for Elizabeth was deservedly popular; but repeated conspiracies against the life of the queen were detected. The object of all these conspiracies was to set the queen of Scots upon the throne; and a book was written by a friend of Campian's, wherein the ladies who were about Elizabeth's person were exhorted, after the example of Judith, to destroy her. Elizabeth's counsellors had long advised that Mary should be put to death. They had obtained full proof of her connection with schemes of conspiracy and invasion, and the people cried out that it was necessary for the security of the queen and the nation. Yet it is a disgraceful part of English history, and Elizabeth's conduct was marked by duplicity, which has left upon her memory a lasting stain. The act itself is not to be excused or palliated, and neither the queen nor the kingdom were more secure after this enemy was removed.

Elizabeth was at this time engaged in open hostilities with the Spaniards. She had long retained a sense of personal good-will towards Philip, and had he listened to her in-

terference, there was nothing, either in the temper or principles of the English government, which would have prevented a reciprocal toleration. When the great attempt at invasion was made, Allen advised the king of Spain to let the management of the armada be confided to English sailors, perfectly acquainted with their own coast ; and when he spoke of this in after years, he used to weep with bitterness, remembering how fatally for the Romish cause his advice had been rejected. That danger, the greatest with which England and the Protestant cause were ever threatened, was met with a spirit such as the emergency required ; but it was averted, less by any human means, than by the providential agency of the elements. Unable to wreak their vengeance upon Elizabeth in any more satisfactory manner, the Romanists gratified it by representing her as a monster of impiety and cruelty. Books were published, in which the most execrable falsehoods were not only licensed, but recommended by the censors of the press, as authentic expositions of the character of the English queen, and the English church.

That church, and the queen, its refounder, are clear of persecution, as regards the Romanists. Some Anabapists from Holland were apprehended, and two, who were deemed preëminently impious, were delivered to the flames. The good old martyrologist, Fox, interceded for these poor wretches, and addressed to the queen a Latin letter in their behalf. He prayed, that at least a month or two might be granted him, during which it might be tried whether God would give them grace to recover from their perilous errors. The month's reprieve was granted, and the poor creatures, remaining firm in their notions, then suffered the cruel death to which they had been condemned.

The founders of the English church were not hasty reformers. They were men of mature judgment and consummate prudence, as well as of sound learning and sincere piety. Their aim was, in the form and constitution of the church, never to depart unnecessarily from what had been long established. Some persons, who had been exiled during Mary's reign, returned with a predilection for the discipline of the Calvinists, and a

rooted aversion for whatever Romish forms were retained in the English church. The square cap, the tippet, and the surplice, were the objects of their abhorrence. Great forbearance was shown towards the first generation of men who were disquieted by these pitiful scruples. The dean of Christ Church refused to wear the cap at public meetings in the university, as if he had been called upon to bow the knee to Baal. He was encouraged in this by Leicester, who favored the Puritans, because he was desirous of stripping the bishoprics, and securing to himself a portion of the spoils.

The proceedings of Elizabeth's government, both towards Papists and Puritans, were grounded upon the principle, that conscience is not to be constrained, but won by force of truth, with the aid of time, and use of all good means of persuasion; and that all cases of conscience, when they exceed their bounds, and grow to be matter of faction, lose their nature, and are then to be restrained and punished. There was a spirit of insubordination at work, which, if their demands had been conceded, would have

protested against the weathercock, and made war upon steeples. The sacerdotal habits had been, at first, the chief matter of contention, but all the rights of the church were soon attacked; and, finally, its whole form and structure. The object of the second race of nonconformists was to eradicate every vestige of the Romish church, and to substitute such a form of discipline as Calvin had erected at Geneva. By this discipline, the members of the court were empowered to pry into the private affairs of every family, and examine any person concerning his own, or his neighbor's conduct, upon oath. This scheme had been adopted in Scotland, and its partisans in England proposed the discipline, as the only and sure remedy for all the evils of the state. Elizabeth perceived that the principles of these church revolutionists were hostile to monarchy. "Men," she said, "were overbold with the Almighty, making too many scannings of his blessed will, as lawyers did with human testaments." The number of nonconforming clergy was but small, but the tyrannical disposition of these people was even more intolerable than

their presumption. Instances occurred, of their thrusting the clergy out of their own churches, if they wore the surplice, and taking away the bread from the communion-table, because it was in the wafer form. Some of the clergy refused to baptize by any other than Scripture names, and then these were laid aside for such appellations as Deliverance, Dust, Ashes, Kill-Sin, and Fight-the-good-fight-of-Faith. A third race arose, who, in contumacy and violence, exceeded the second as much as they had outgone the first; their doctrines, mingled with the fiercest and foulest ribaldry, were promulgated in ferocious libels. So long as they had been contented with proposing what they desired, they had been borne with, except in cases of extreme contempt; but when they affirmed that the consent of the magistrate was not to be attended to, and began to vaunt the strength and number of their partisans and followers, it appeared to be no more conscience, but faction and division. The church was right in exacting conformity from its ministers; its error was in not permitting men of narrow minds and rickety consciences



to associate and worship after their own way. Authority which, at first, was justly exercised, was provoked to act oppressively ; and the opposition which began in caprice and pertinacious conceit, became respectable, and even magnanimous, in suffering. The Romanists, seeing the miserable schism which had arisen, looked upon the establishment as an unstable church, and were withheld from joining it. Thus baffled in its plans of conciliation, the government had recourse to stronger compulsive measures. The fine for not attending church on Sundays was raised, and some of the men concerned in libels against the church, suffered death. More truculent libels never issued from the press ; but the punishment exceeded the offence. The heat of mind in which such writings originated, time would have corrected.

Cartwright, who had contributed to excite and diffuse the spirit of resistance and dissension, lamented, at his death, the troubles which he had raised in the church, and wished that he could begin his life again, that he might testify how deeply he disapproved of his former ways.

## CHAPTER XIV.

## JAMES I.

**DURING** the last years of Elizabeth's reign, the Puritans remained quiet, hoping that, upon her death, an order of things, more conformable to their views, would be established by a king who had been bred up in Presbyterian principles. The Romanists, also, looked with equal expectation to the new reign, and reminded King James of his mother's prayers that he might be such as they most desired. James had been too well educated by Buchanan, ever to be ensnared in the toils of Romish sophistry. He came, also, armed with sound learning against the speculative errors of Puritanism, and with no predilection for its discipline, for he had both seen and felt its practical consequences. The Puritans endeavored, by activity, to make amends for their want of numbers. They exerted themselves to get men of their opinions returned to parliament, and presented what they called the humble petition of the thousand ministers, offering to show that the

abuses of which they complained were not agreeable to the Scriptures, if the king would appoint a conference of the learned. Both universities disclaimed the petition, but James was induced to permit the proposed conference, and, accordingly, it was held before the privy council at Hampton Court, the king himself presiding as moderator. On the first day, James conferred with the bishops and some of the deans who were summoned with them. "He had not called that assembly," he said, "for any innovation, but rather to confirm what was settled." There were some points concerning the Book of Common Prayer, and the service of the church, wherein he desired to be satisfied. They related to confirmation, absolution, and to private baptism. Upon the two first points the bishops fully satisfied him. Upon the third, he retained his objection to allowing others beside clergymen to baptize in case of necessity. The Puritans were called in on the second day, and Dr. Reynolds stated what they required, under four heads: that the doctrine of the church might be preserved in purity, according to God's word; that good

pastors might be planted in all churches ; that the church government might be sincerely administered, according to God's word ; and, that the Book of Common Prayer might be fitted to more increase of piety. Upon this, Bancroft, the bishop of London, reminded the king of the canon which declares that schismatics were not to be heard against bishops. "Are they not of Mr. Cartwright's mind," he said, "who affirmed that we ought, in ceremonies, to conform to the Turks, rather than to the Papists, appearing before your majesty in Turkey gowns, not in your scholastic habits?" This rebuke was well deserved, but James reproved the interruption. Bancroft then replied to an observation made by Dr. Reynolds, upon falling from grace, and the king said he approved of the words of the article in the Prayer-Book, as consonant to those of the apostles, "Work out your salvation with fear and trembling," and he desired that the question of predestination might be tenderly handled.

The next objection was, that the articles, in saying, "the bishop of Rome had no

authority in this land," were not sufficient, unless it were added, "nor ought to have any." To this the king properly replied, "Inasmuch as it is said he hath not, it is plain enough he ought not to have." Reynolds proposed that it might be added to the articles, that "the intention of the minister is not of the essence of the sacrament." But the king said, "If they thrust into the article every position negative, it would swell the book into a volume as big as the Bible, and confound the reader." Dr. Reynolds next requested that one uniform catechism might be made, and none other generally received; a request which the king pronounced very reasonable, if the catechism be made in the fewest and plainest terms. He also consented that the Bible should be newly translated, saying, that "no English translation was good, but that of Geneva was the worst;"; he added, "if these were the greatest matters that grieved you, I need not have been troubled with such importunate complaints."

Reynolds came to his second general point, and desired that learned ministers might be planted in every parish. James replied that

the bishops were willing, but it could not immediately be done, the universities not affording them. Dr. Reynolds said, that subscribing to the Articles might not be exacted as heretofore, many good men being unwilling to subscribe, because the Apocrypha was enjoined to be read in the churches. The king desired him to note those passages which were repugnant to Scripture, saying, he would have none read in the church wherein any error was contained. Mr. Knewstubs, objected to the cross in baptism, "Whereat," he said, "the weak brethren were offended." "How long will such brethren be weak?" replied the king; "are not forty-five years sufficient for them to grow in? we require not subscription of idiots, but of preachers and ministers, who are not still, I trow, to be fed with milk; being able to feed others." "I take exception," quoth Knewstubs, "at the surplice, a garment used by the priests of Isis." "I thought till of late," replied James, "it had been a rag of popery. Seeing that we border not upon heathens now, neither are any of them conversant with us thereby to be confirmed in Paganism, I see no reason,

but for comeliness' sake, it may be continued." "I take exception," said Dr. Reynolds, "at these words in the marriage service — 'with my body I thee worship.'" James replied with a smile, "Many men speak of Robin Hood, who never shot in his bow. If you had a good wife yourself, you would think all worship and honor you could do her, were well bestowed." Reynolds then desired "that the clergy might have meetings every three weeks, where he wished to have those discussions of theological questions, called prophecyings." "If you aim at a Scottish Presbytery," replied the king, "it agreeth as well with monarchy, as God and the devil; then Jack, and Tom, and Will, and Dick, shall meet and censure me and my council. I have learned of what cut they have been, who preaching before me since my coming into England, passed over in silence my being supreme governor in causes ecclesiastical. Have you any thing else to say?" Reynolds replied, "No more, if it please your majesty." "Then," said the king, "if this be all your party have to say, I will make them

conform, or hurry them out of the land, or else do worse."

On the following day, such alterations in the liturgy as the king had assented to, were laid before him and approved. "Absolution," was defined "remission of sins;" to the confirmation of children the word "examination," was added, and private baptism was only to be performed by lawful ministers. Some limitation of the bishop's jurisdiction was to be made, and excommunication, as it was then used, to be taken away both in name and in nature. Schools and preachers were to be provided where they were needed; one catechism was to be made and used in all places, and an order taken for an uniform translation of the Bible. The Puritan representatives were now called in and the alterations in the liturgy shown to them, to which they assented in silence. "I see," said James, "the exceptions against the communion book are matters of weakness; from you, Dr. Reynolds, and your associates, I expect obedience and humility, the marks of honest and good men, and that you will persuade others by your good example." Rey-



nolds replied, " We do here promise, to perform all duties to bishops as reverend fathers, and to join with them against the common adversary, for the quiet of the church." And thus the conference ended, " wherein," says Fuller, " how discreetly the king carried himself, posterity out of the reach of flattery is the most competent judge."

The Puritans disowned their representatives when they found how the conference had concluded, but it was not useless ; it showed how insignificant were the objections which the most learned of this party could advance, and it produced a new translation of the Bible, upon which forty-seven of the most learned men in England were employed. A truly admirable translation was thus completed, in which no error of main importance has been discovered. The marriage of the clergy was now made lawful, and a stop was put to the alienation of church lands. James was indeed sincerely desirous of promoting the welfare of the church, and through his means Sarpi's admirable history of the council of Trent was given to the world. The talents of this monarch were quick and lively, his

understanding sound, and his acquirements such as fairly entitled him to a place among the learned men of his age. As he grew older, he perceived wherein his opinions had been erroneous, and he was not ashamed to acknowledge and act upon the conviction of his maturer mind. He had been taught, like his contemporaries, to believe that heresy was high treason against the Almighty, and therefore to be punished with death ; but, after a few executions, he determined never to make another martyr. He was advanced beyond his age and country in the principle of toleration.

The vindictive feelings of the nation towards the Romanists, were violently exasperated by the discovery of the gunpowder plot. The English papists, as a body, were ignorant of it ; but the opprobrium which it brought upon their church was not unjust ; because Guy Fawkes and his associates, acted upon the same principles as the head of the church, when he struck medals in honor of the Bartholomew massacre. The ring-leaders were not men of desperate fortunes, but of family and condition, some of them

possessed of rank and affluence, and actually enjoying the king's favor. The parliament thought it necessary upon this discovery, that an oath of allegiance should be required from every papist, which was taken without apparent scruple or reluctance. The conciliatory views of the good-natured king were frustrated, and that acrimonious faction strengthened, whose sole ground of quarrel with the Church of England was, that it had not separated as widely as possible from the Romanists in all forms and ceremonies.

Bancroft, who succeeded to the primacy, had neither the wisdom nor the moderation of Parker and Whitgift. When several Puritan families migrated to Virginia, and great numbers were preparing to follow them, he obtained a proclamation whereby they were forbidden to leave the kingdom without especial license from the king. He had nearly succeeded, however, in weeding out the discontented ministers, but under the patronage of Abbot, his successor, they became numerous enough to form a formidable party, and to perceive that success was within reach, as well as hope.

## CHAPTER XV.

## CHARLES I.—TRIUMPH OF THE PURITANS.

THE condition of the church at James' death, was to all outward appearance flourishing as its truest friends could have desired. The world did not contain men of stronger talents, sounder learning, and more exemplary lives than were to be found among its ministers; and their works have stood, and will continue to stand the test of time.

At the commencement of his reign, Charles unexpectedly found himself at variance with his parliament. A crisis had arrived at which it might have been possible, had there been prudence upon both sides, to have defined and balanced the constitution without a struggle. There were some grievances which cried aloud for redress, and some vexations which might easily have been removed; but Charles was surrounded by weak and treacherous counsellors. It was owing to his infirmity of purpose, that he did not make himself an absolute king, when he tried the experiment of governing without a parliament, and raising,

by his own prerogative, the revenues which the commons had persisted in withholding.

During this contention, the Puritans had greatly increased, and had got possession of many churches, both in town and country. They maintained that the Scripture had no efficacy unless it were expounded in sermons, and the word no vital operation, unless it were preached from the pulpit. The founders of the English church thought that public instruction was only a part of public worship, and that if, in the morning there were a sermon or homily, the minister was not less usefully employed in the afternoon in catechizing and examining the younger members of his flock.

When Elizabeth wished to prepare the nation for any of her measures, she began by what she called "tuning the pulpits." The party opposed to the monarchy and the church had learnt this policy, too. An association was formed for purchasing lay-impropriations, and reānnexing them to the impoverished livings from which they had been severed. Large sums were raised by voluntary contribution, and entrusted to a self-con-

stituted corporation of feoffees. The persons who bestirred themselves with most activity in the project, and obtained the management of it, were leading Puritans, who, instead of restoring to the parish church the impropriations which they purchased, employed the revenue in establishing lecturers in market-towns, and in supporting schoolmasters to train up youth in Puritanical opinions. The course which the feoffees pursued made their intention evident; the feoffment was condemned as being illegal, and the impropriations which they had acquired were confiscated to the king's use. The ostensible purport of this feoffment was so unexceptionably good, that the multitude joined with the enemies of the church in lamenting its suppressions; but the circumstances which brought on the overthrow of the church and state, and the murder of the king, were many and widely various.

The establishment of the Dutch republic was one of those causes. Never was a good cause more gloriously and virtuously defended than that of the Netherlanders. Many of the Londoners seeing the commercial pros-

perity of the Dutch, imputed it to the form of their commonwealth. Some men of surpassing talents were so infatuated with political theories, that, for the prospect of realizing them, they were willing to incur the danger and guilt of exciting a civil war; and others were ready to coöperate with them for the hope of destroying Episcopacy. One of the most effectual arts for those who wished to shake the throne, was to possess the people with an opinion that the king in his heart favored popery, and that Laud was seeking to reëstablish it. Their conduct, which proceeded from wisdom and Christian charity, was supposed at Rome to indicate an unsettled faith. Hopes were entertained there of the king's conversion, and a cardinal's hat was actually offered to the primate. This calumny was, therefore, easily raised by bigoted men, and greedily received by the multitude. The charitable temper of Laud towards the papists, and the humanity with which he sometimes interfered in behalf of the imprisoned priests, might alone have rendered him unpopular among the Puritans. His first act upon being made dean of the

chapel displayed his sense of duty. It had been the custom of the court, that whenever the king came into his closet, the prayers were broken off, that the preacher might ascend the pulpit. Laud requested his majesty that he would be present every Sunday at the liturgy, as well as at the sermon; and that, at whatsoever part of the service he might enter, the minister should regularly proceed with it. The zeal with which he attempted the reform necessary in the discipline of the church was not always accompanied with discretion; and while his virtues, his learning, and his splendid liberality were overlooked, his errors and weaknesses were exaggerated. The reverence for antiquity which this primate entertained, his love for the pomps and ceremonies of worship, and the impression which he allowed to be made upon his mind by dreams and imagined omens, exposed him to the charge of superstition, and he was loudly arraigned for profaneness, because the king published a declaration authorizing sports on Sunday. His unpopularity was farther increased by his enjoining that the communion-table should be placed in



the chancel and decently railed in ; and by his practice of bowing toward it, which was considered as a mark of popish superstition. But nothing exasperated the feelings of the people against him so much as the inhuman sentences passed upon Prynne, Bastwick and Burton, as libellers. They were condemned to a fine of five thousand pounds each ; to lose their ears in the pillory, and to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure. This sentence was as bravely endured as it was cruelly performed. But that which drew most obloquy and heaviest persecution upon the heads of the clergy, was the promulgating a body of canons, wherein an oath was enjoined for preventing all innovations in doctrine and government. Formidable objections were brought against the first canon, wherein it was declared that monarchy is of divine right ; that it is treasonable to set up any independent coercive power, either papal or popular, and that for subjects to bear arms against their king, upon any pretence whatsoever, is to resist the power ordained of God. Even moderate men deemed this canon highly reprehensible, and imputing to it a wider meaning

than the words themselves conveyed, considered it as asserting an absolute power in the crown. Laud had long seen the cloud gathering over the Church of England. He had written in his private diary this prayer : " may God so love and bless my soul, as I declare and endeavor that, all the never-to-be-enough deplored distractions of the church, may be composed happily to the glory of his name."

From his own private means he had endowed a chapel in his native town ; enlarged St. John's College, at Oxford ; established an Arabic lecture in that university, and presented to the Bodleian Library many Greek and Oriental manuscripts. He raised funds for repairing St. Paul's, which had been materially injured by fire ; and, at his request, the king had restored to the Church of Ireland all the impropriations yet remaining in the crown ; and had the government continued undisturbed, the king would undoubtedly have entered into his plans for improving the condition of the inferior clergy. By steadily enforcing discipline, Laud corrected many of the disorders at which his predecessor had connived ; at the same time, means were taken for supplying

the establishment with men every way qualified for their holy office.

The most zealous of the nonconformists withdrew from the kingdom ; and Pym, Hampden and Cromwell, were about to emigrate to America, when the vessel in which they were about to embark was embargoed.

Hitherto, the course of civil and ecclesiastical affairs, during this reign, had in no degree depended upon each other. The Reformation in Scotland had been carried on with greater violence than in England, the government having been opposed to it at first, and afterwards too weak to direct its course. The turbulent nobles shared among themselves the spoils of the church, and encouraged the populace to demolish the abbeys and cathedrals. James took measures for restoring to the bishops the temporalities of which they had been despoiled ; for bettering the condition of the clergy, and for assimilating the service to that of the English church.

A popular commotion was easily raised, and then craftily directed. The people bound themselves by a solemn covenant to resist all innovations in religion, and not to be

diverted from their course, by allurements nor terror; a saving clause was inserted for the defence of the king and the peace of the kingdom, and a solemn engagement was made, to keep themselves within the bounds of Christian liberty, and to be good example to others of all godliness, soberness and righteousness. The storm was soon raised. The Scotch were in treasonable communication with Richelieu and the French government. The heads of the popular party in England were the Scotch, and necessity compelled Charles to call a parliament, which was hastily dissolved, through the rash or malicious conduct of an unfaithful minister. Another parliament was summoned, in which the enemies of government took the lead, and released Prynne and his fellow-sufferers. A resolution was passed, that the clergy had no power to make any canons without common consent of parliament; and the bishops were impeached for high treason upon this ground. They were reviled for the part which they bore in state affairs, but none were so active in political intrigue as the seditious clergy. The parliament began by marking Strafford

for destruction, and then accused Laud also for high treason. When the charge was made, he declared his persuasion that not a man in the house believed it in his heart ; but he was committed to the Tower, and left there in the hope that age and imprisonment would free his persecutors from further trouble. A petition had already been presented at the commons, for the total extirpation of Episcopacy, and two men who favored it, Sir Henry Vane and Hampden, possessed great influence and ability. A bill for the utter extirpation of bishops, deans and chapters, was brought forward by Sir Edward Dering. He was a man of fine person and upright intentions, who possessed the most dangerous of all endowments when unaccompanied with sound judgment, a ready eloquence.

The revolutionists were contented with bringing in this bill, and laying by after the first reading, for a more convenient season. Their next measure was to draw up a protestation for the members of both houses, whereby they bound themselves to maintain the true reformed Protestant religion, expressed in the Church of England against all

popery and popish innovation, within the realm.

The high commission court was now put down; for it had taken upon itself, with questionable legality, to impose so many fines, that it had become peculiarly obnoxious. The House of Lords, meantime, appointed a committee for religion, consisting of twenty peers and ten bishops, who were to inquire into doctrines as well as ceremonies; and a sub-committee, consisting wholly of clergy, to prepare matters for their cognizance. The members of the latter, were chiefly doctrinal Puritans, and Williams, bishop of Lincoln, was president of both committees. Sir Edward Dering himself, who, when he had discovered too late at what the reformers were aiming, came forward manfully, and proved the uprightness of his own intentions, by atoning, as far as was in his power, for the errors into which he had been beguiled.

The Puritans, feeling now that every success increased their numbers and their strength, moved that there might be liberty to disuse the Common Prayer, by reason that in many things it gave offence to tender con-

sciences. The majority at once rejected the motion; but on the very next day, the Puritans, finding themselves masters of a thin house, passed a resolution that the communion-table should be removed from the appointed place, the chancel levelled, and that no man should presume to bow at the name of Jesus. Sir Edward Dering, opposed this last infamous decree with great feeling. "You know," said he, "you know there is no other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved. It is a name above every name, the sweetest and fullest of comfort, of all the names and attributes of God: and must I hereafter do no exterior reverence, none at all to God, my Saviour, at the mention of his saving name, Jesus? why sir, to omit it, to leave it undone, is questionable, is controvertible; but to deny it, to forbid it to be done, take heed, sir, God will never own you, if you forbid his honor. Reduce this dainty species of idolatry under its proper head, the second commandment, and if I find it there, I will fly from it. Was it ever heard before, that any men of any religion, did ever cut short or abridge any worship to

their God? If Christ be Jesus, if Jesus be God, all reverence exterior, as well as interior, is too little for him. In a word, sir, I certainly never shall obey your order, so long as I have a head to lift up to heaven."

But eloquence cannot deter men from factious purposes, and the resolutions were passed and carried to the lords. A committee, unconstitutionally appointed, exercised their usurped jurisdiction in ecclesiastical affairs, sending forth their orders to be read in all churches, and authorizing the parishioners of any parish to choose a lecturer, and maintain him at their own charge. Immediately the London pulpits, and those in the larger provincial towns, where the Puritans had obtained a footing, were manned with preachers who applied the denunciations of Scripture against the bishops and the order of the church, against the king and the frame of the state. This they did with impunity, having now obtained that liberty of speech and of the press which they desired.

As soon as the order respecting the altar was issued, the Puritans broke loose; painted windows were demolished, rails torn up;



monumental brasses stolen, and tombs defaced and destroyed. It was proposed in commons, that the king should be desired to make no new bishops till the controversy concerning the church should be ended; and failing in this, their next motion was, that the bishops whom they had impeached for making the canons, might be sequestered from the house till they should brought to judgment.

Petitions against Episcopacy poured in upon parliament, and in opposition to these, counter petitions were presented from various parts of the country, signed by the greatest and most respectable part of the gentry, and a large majority of the freeholders. They represented that bishops had been instituted in the time of the apostles, and that many of them had sown the seeds of religion in their blood; they apprehended an absolute innovation of Presbyterian government, "whereby," said the petitioners, "we who are now governed by the canon and civil laws, shall be exposed to the mere arbitrary rule of a numerous presbytery." Sir Thomas Aston, who presented one of these petitions, was reprimanded by the house, and it was

one of their complaints against the king, that he had received those [which were] [mutinous and malignant. The king replied with becoming resentment, "Have a multitude of contemptible persons had the liberty to petition against the government of the church, against the Book of Prayer, and been thanked for it, and shall it be called mutiny in the gravest and best citizens of London, to frame petitions desiring to be governed by the known laws of the land?"

The palace and the houses of parliament were now beset with mobs crying out, "No bishops," and the prelates themselves were assailed with such insults and outrages, that they absented themselves for fear of their lives. They presented a protest to the house, against all the acts which might be done, while they were deterred from doing their duty, but all who had signed this protest were committed to the Tower, upon an accusation of high treason. The bill for depriving the bishops of their seats in the House of Peers, was now hurried through parliament, and the queen persuaded the king to pass it. An assembly of divines was convoked to frame

a new model of church government. A few of the loyal clergy were appointed, most of whom, in obedience to the king's command, refused to appear. A large proportion of seditious preachers, who now openly professed their Presbyterian principles, certain members of both houses, and some commissioners from Scotland, composed this assembly. One of their first public acts was to petition parliament that a general fast might be appointed, which was afterwards enjoined monthly, and the sermons delivered on these occasions were published by authority. Such was the effect of these upon the people, that according to their own avowal, they had "such a controlling horror from these sermons, that they verily believed they should be accursed from God forever, if they had not acted their part in that dismal tragedy, and heartily done the devil's work, being so effectually called and commanded to it, in God's name!"

The parliament, now that the power was in their hands, committed the same oppressive measures which had been the first and only solid ground of reproach against the king, and the clergy, who, in their horror of

popery, and hatred of Episcopacy, had brought about a civil war, assumed to themselves the most dangerous power of the Roman priesthood. Indulgence for tender consciences had been their cry, but now, so strictly did they enforce restrictive laws, that the Romanists were compelled to perform their worship at midnight, and that always in fear and danger.

By one of their laws, the theatres were suppressed, and the players were to be fined for the first offence, and whipped for the second. By another, Maypoles were taken down as a heathenish vanity, and the monthly fast happening to fall on Christmas-day, was ordered to be observed with more solemn humiliation. Many of those venerable structures, which were the glory of the land, had been destroyed at the Reformation, and the remainder were now threatened with the same fate. Lord Brooke said he hoped to see the day, when not one stone of St. Paul's should be left upon another. The carved work of that noble structure was demolished, and the body of the church converted into a stable for the troopers' horses. In some

churches, they baptized horses or swine ; in others, they broke open the tombs and scattered about the bones of the dead ; and at Sudley they made a slaughter-house of the chancel, and cut up the carcasses upon the communion-table. At Westminster, the soldiers sat smoking and drinking at the altar ; and no cathedral escaped without some injury.

A device was soon found for ejecting the loyal clergy. The two houses passed an act, that the covenant should be taken, whereby all who subscribed it bound themselves to endeavor the extirpation of Episcopal church government ; and, on this ground, no fewer than seven thousand clergymen were ejected from their livings. Prideaux, the bishop of Worcester, was reduced to such distress, that, in his will, he could bequeath his children nothing but " pious poverty, God's blessing, and a father's prayers."

Such of the loyal clergy as were only plundered and turned out to find subsistence for their wives and families as they could, or to starve, were fortunate, when compared with many of their brethren. Some were

actually murdered, others perished in consequence of brutal usage, or confinement in close, unwholesome prisons. Not one of them, however, was so much to be pitied as Sir Edward Dering, into whose mouth had been put the first motion for destroying the fabric of church government. Perceiving how he had been duped, he resisted, with his characteristic eloquence, the measures which were now brought forward against the church, and printed a collection of his speeches on matters of religion, for vindication of his name. For this act he was expelled the house, and his book was burnt by the common hangman. He would also have been committed to the Tower, if he had not escaped by disguising himself in the habit of a clergyman. After a while, he joined the king, and served in his army, till he requested the king to bestow upon him the deanery of Canterbury. An aberration of mind is the most charitable and the most likely solution of his conduct; for, being refused the preferment which he solicited, he deserted the royal cause, and presented himself before the parliament as the first person who came in

under their proclamation to compound for his delinquency. Having incurred the contempt of all parties, and the condemnation of his own heart, he ended his life in poverty and disgrace.

The articles against Laud, were presented by Pym, Hampden, and Maynard. He was charged with endeavoring to introduce into the kingdom an arbitrary and tyrannical government, of perverting and selling justice, and taking unlawful gifts and bribes; of endeavoring to subvert God's true religion, and set up popish superstition and idolatry instead of it; and confederating with popish priests to reconcile the Church of England with the Church of Rome; of stirring up war with Scotland, and, by false and malicious slanders, incensing his majesty against parliament.

The archbishop was detained ten weeks, in charge of the black rod; the sum of twenty nobles a day being exacted of him for diet and custody. He was then committed to the Tower; there he was left for many months, as he said, "to the great weakening of my aged body, and waste of my poor fortune."

While thus confined, he received a message from Grotius, who was at that time a fugitive, entreating him, if possible, to make his escape, and cross the sea; but he answered without hesitation, that he could not comply with his friend's advice.

Strafford, on the night before his execution, requested the lieutenant of the Tower, that, if it were possible, he might speak with the archbishop; but the lieutenant answered, that he was bound by his orders not to permit it. Strafford then said to the primate of Ireland, "I will tell you what I should have spoken to my lord's grace of Canterbury. You shall desire the archbishop to lend me his prayers this night, and to give me his blessing when I do go abroad, to-morrow, and to be in his window, that, by my last farewell, I may give him thanks for this, and all his other former favours." "The next morning," said Laud, "as he passed by, he turned towards me and took the solemnest leave that I think was ever, by any at distance, taken one of another."

The enemies of these illustrious men published, among other falsehoods, that Strafford



had bitterly cursed the archbishop. Prynne, as being the archbishop's implacable enemy, was sent to seize his papers, and search his person. He took not only his private diary, but also his book of private devotions. "Nor could I," says Laud, "get him to leave this last, but he must needs see what passed between God and me."

Prynne had been more cruelly treated than any other person by the star-chamber. The manner in which he now revenged himself has fixed an indelible stain upon his character, which, otherwise, with all his errors, would have been entitled to respect. He promised to restore the papers which he took from the archbishop in three or four days; but he returned only three bundles out of twenty-one, and employed against him, at his trial, such as might seem prejudicial to his cause, suppressing those which might have been advantageous. There is reason to believe that the trial of Laud had been thus long delayed, because some of the party were yet unwilling to put him to death. The single charge against the archbishop which would have subjected him to legal punish-

ment, was found so utterly unsupported, that it was abandoned upon the trial.

Sergeant Wilde introduced the trial by a virulent speech, affirming that it was a charge of treason in the highest pitch and attitude ; that Laud had exposed and prostituted the Sabbath to all looseness and irreligion ; that he had made a ladder for himself to climb up to papal dignity ; and it appeared, by his own diary, that a cardinal's cap had been offered him ; but such was his modesty as to forbear it, because, though Rome be a true visible church, in his opinion, that something dwelt with him that hindered it for a time. Laud requested of the peers that they would expect proof, before they gave belief to these assertions.

“ If I have committed any thing worthy of death,” he said, “ I refuse not to die, for I bless God I have so spent my time, as that I am neither ashamed to live, nor afraid to die, nor can the world be more weary of me than I of it.” With regard to the charge of seeking to overthrow the laws, he answered, “ his soul had always hated an arbitrary government ; and, as for religion, I was born and

bred up under the Church of England, as it yet stands established by law. I have, by God's blessing, and the favor of my prince, grown up in it to the years which are now upon me, and to the place of preferment which I yet bear; and in this church, by the grace and goodness of God, I resolve to die. It is charged that I have endeavored to bring in popery; but I would fain have a good reason given me, if my conscience lead me that way, what should have kept me here before my imprisonment, to endure the libels, and the slanders, and the base usage of all kinds, which have been put upon me."

The weightiest proofs which could have been adduced of his traitorous endeavors to introduce a tyrannical government, were a passage in his diary, and a few words which he was accused of having spoken at the council-table. He had entered in his diary, that, upon the Scotch rebellion, Strafford and Hamilton, and he himself, proposed a parliament, and these words followed, namely: "A resolution voted at the board, to assist the king in extraordinary ways, if the parliament should prove peevish, and refuse." The

other charge was, that after the dissolution of the last parliament, he had said to the king, now he might use his own power.

The sentences of Prynne and the other libellers were brought forward as treasonable acts in him; and his having mended the painted window at Lambeth, the pictures in his gallery, and the missals in his study, were made to appear as grievances. "True, my lords," replied the indignant prelate, "I had many, but I had more of the Greek liturgies than the Roman, and I had as many of both as I could get; I had also the Alkoran in divers copies; if this be an argument, why do they not accuse me to be a Turk?"

The trial lasted twenty days, during which Laud displayed a courage answerable to his cause and character. So admirably did he vindicate himself upon the matters of fact, and so ably were the points of law argued for and by his counsel, Hearne and Hale, that it was found impossible, by the handful of peers who sat in judgment upon him, to pronounce him guilty.

Laud was admitted to speak in his own behalf, which he did with clearness and pre-

cision, reminding the commons "that the evidence that was laid before them was but upon the collection and judgment of one man." He concluded, by saying, "Whatsoever errors or faults I may have committed through human infirmity, yet if God bless me with so much memory, I will die with these words in my mouth, that I never intended, much less endeavored the subversion of the laws of the kingdom, nor the bringing in of popish superstition upon the true Protestant religion, established by law in this kingdom." The strength with which he defended himself was felt and acknowledged, even by many of the members, but without hearing council in his behalf, the commons voted him guilty of high treason. When only fourteen lords were present, in the upper house, they voted him guilty of endeavoring to subvert the laws and the Protestant religion, and of being an enemy to parliaments. The peers who shrank from more active participation in sentencing him, absented themselves from the house, and six only were found to concur in the sentence of condemnation.

Laud had foreseen such an issue, and a pardon had been secretly conveyed to him from the king, which he now produced. It was read in both houses, but, as he expected, they affirmed that the king could not pardon by judgment of parliament. He then petitioned for two favors ; the one, that three of his chaplains might be with him before, and at his death ; the other, that he might be beheaded. The commons denied both requests, and only allowed that one of the chaplains whom he named might attend him, with two of their own divines. He petitioned the lords again, as to the manner of his death, on the grounds of his profession, his rank, and the dignity which he had held ; the lords sent the petitions to the Tower, and the commons were then pleased to consent that he should be beheaded.

When Laud was brought out of the Tower, upon the day of his execution, the spectators "were so divided betwixt bemoaners and insulters, it was hard to decide which of them made up the most part." He began his dying address in a state of calm, but deep feeling, and delivered it with a grave compo-

sure. Nor did he let pass the opportunity of giving the people such grave admonitions as the time permitted. "They crucified Christ for fear lest the Romans should come," said he, "and his death was it which brought in the Romans upon them; and I pray God this clamor of *venient Romani*, of which I have given no cause, help not to bring them in. For the pope never had such an harvest in England, since the Reformation, as he hath now, upon the sects and divisions that are among us. I have always lived in the Protestant religion, and in that I come now to die. In the presence of God and his holy angels, I here tell it, upon my death, that I never endeavored the subversion of law or religion, but I did dislike the misgovernment of some parliamentary ways, and I had good reason for it; for there is no corruption in the world so bad as that which is of the best thing within itself, for the better the thing is in nature, the worse it is corrupted; and that being the highest court, over which no other hath jurisdiction, when it is misinformed or misgoverned, the subject is left without all remedy. But, I have done. I forgive all the

world, and humbly desire to be forgiven of God first, and then of every man, whether I have offended him or not, if he do but conceive that I have; and so I heartily desire you to join in prayer with me."

He had prepared a prayer for the occasion, alike remarkable for the state of mind in which it was composed and uttered. He pronounced it with a distinct and audible voice, and giving the paper to Dr. Stern, who had been permitted to attend him, desired him to communicate it to his other chaplains, that they might see in what manner he left this world. Being come near to the block, he put off his doublet, and said, "God's will be done." He then turned to the executioner, and giving him money, said, without the slightest change of countenance, "Here, God forgive thee, as I do, and do thy office upon me with mercy." Then he knelt down, and after a short prayer, laid his head upon the block, and gave the signal in these words, "Lord, receive my soul." The head was severed at one blow. He was buried according to the ceremonies and rites of the Church of England; a circumstance



which afforded a deep but mournful consideration to those who revered and loved him.\*

On the same day that Laud was condemned, an act was passed, by which the liturgy was suppressed, and a directory for public worship set forth in its stead. This directory prescribed only the order of the

\* It is not from any one history that we must draw our conclusions as to the character of Archbishop Laud. His name has been a party one, even down to this day. Holding the highest office in the English church when the hour of her trial came, believers in the same faith with himself have sympathized in his sufferings, and often felt themselves bound to defend his whole career. Were we to believe all we read, we should come to the conclusion that he was, even in this life, a striking instance of a 'just man made perfect.' As a set-off against this extravagant praise, he has been denounced as 'a lower kind of St. Dominic, differing from the fierce and gloomy enthusiast who founded the Inquisition, as we may imagine the familiar imp of a spiteful witch to differ from an archangel of darkness.' Now, in these conflicting statements, the truth probably lies midway between the two extremes. We suppose that he will continue to go down through coming days, branded, on the one side, as a bigot, and lauded, on the other, as a saint." — *The New York Review for April, 1842.*

service, leaving every thing else to the discretion of the minister. He was to begin with prayer, in his own form of words ; then to read any portion of Scripture which pleased him, so it were not from the Apocrypha. Psalm-singing was to follow ; then a prayer before sermon, for which five pages of direction were given ; then “ the preaching of the word ; ” then a prayer after sermon ; another psalm ; lastly, a valediction. The people at the communion were ordered to sit about the table ; it was declared requisite, that on the Sabbath, there should be a holy cessation from unnecessary labors, and an abstaining, not only from all sports and pastimes, but also from all worldly words and thoughts ; that the time between and after service should be spent in reading, meditation, repetition of sermons and catechizing, holy conferences, prayer, psalm-singing, visiting the sick, relieving the poor, and such like duties of piety, charity, and mercy. Burials were to be without any religious ceremony, such usages having been abused to superstition. Nevertheless, it was judged convenient that the Christian friends who accompanied the

dead, should apply themselves to meditation and conference; and if the minister were present, he might there put them in remembrance of their duty. Every one who could read must have a psalm-book, and all were to be exhorted to learn reading, that the whole congregation might join in psalmody. All holydays were abolished, as having no warrant in the word of God, and no directions were given for introducing either the Lord's prayer, the creed, or the commandments.

The Puritans had raised a storm whereby the peace and happiness of three kingdoms were endangered, because they would not kneel at the communion, tolerate the surplice, use the finest liturgy that ever was composed, nor bow at the name of Jesus. The assembly drew up a scheme of Presbyterian government, which was approved and established in Scotland, but for which they could not obtain the sanction of the English parliament. London, with its suburbs, however, was organized upon the Presbyterian plan, and it is to be wished that parts of this discipline had been retained at the Restoration, as being compatible with an Episcopal Church, and

tending greatly to its efficacy and support. But even in the assembly, the Presbyterians were opposed by two parties differing widely from one another, the Erostians and Independents. Besides these, there were others, so many and various, that names for half of them have not been found in the nomenclature of heresy. They who had thus broken down the fences complained, "We have the plague of Egypt upon us, and a man can hardly come into any place, but some croaking frog or other will be up upon him."

These men who had pleaded conscience about a gesture and a garment, prohibited the use of the Common Prayer, not merely in places of public worship, but in any private place or family, under penalty of five pounds for the first offence, ten for the second, and for the third, a year's imprisonment. They voted, in the assembly, that the power of the keys was in the officers of the church, whereby they could retain or remit sins, shut the kingdom of heaven and open it.

When the king had taken shelter with the Scotch army, they would gladly have obtained the sanction of his authority to trample upon

the Independents. They required still severer measures against the Romanists, insisted upon the utter abolishment of Episcopacy, and that the king should not only take the covenant himself, but impose it upon all in the three kingdoms. Charles was not to be shaken; he rested upon his coronation-oath, and upon his own deliberate and well-grounded conviction, that Episcopacy was the form of church government which had been handed down to us from the apostles.

The Puritans, unable to obtain the king's consent, proceeded upon their own usurped authority. They had already abolished Episcopal jurisdiction; they now abolished the rank and order, confiscating all their rights and possessions.

They passed an ordinance by which eight heresies were made punishable with death; and the penalty of sixteen other opinions was imprisonment. Their laws, also, for the suppression of immorality were written in blood.

After the murder of the king, change followed change, but no change brought stability to the state, or repose to the nation.

Cromwell relieved the country from Presbyterian intolerance, but it required all his strength to keep down the spirit of religious fanaticism. He saw and understood the beauty, and utility, and necessity of those establishments, civil and ecclesiastical, over which he had made his way to power, and gladly would have restored the monarchy and the Episcopal Church. Eighteen months of anarchy after his death made the nation impatient of its oppressors, and indignant of its long sufferings. The national wish was felt and obeyed at a time when no one dared to utter it, and Charles II. was invited unconditionally from exile to his paternal throne, by a people who desired nothing more than the restoration of those institutions under which England had been prosperous and happy.

## CHAPTER XVI.

CHARLES II. — JAMES II. — THE REVOLUTION.

WHEN Charles I. was in the hands of his enemies he addressed this advice to his son : “Never suffer your heart to receive the least disaffection from the Church of England. I tell you I have tried it, and after much search and many disputes, have concluded it to be the best in the world, keeping the middle way between the pomp of superstitious tyranny and the meanness of fantastic anarchy. Not but that, the draft being excellent in the main, some lines may haply need correcting and polishing, which might easily have been done by a safe and gentle hand, if such rude alterations had not been demanded as would have quite destroyed all the beauty and proportions of the whole. What good I intended, do you perform, when you shall have the power. Happy times I hope attend you, wherein your subjects by their miseries will have learnt, that religion to their God, and loyalty to their king, cannot be parted with without both their sin and their infelicity. I

pray God, bless you, and establish your kingdom in righteousness, your soul in true religion, and your honor in the love of God and your people. Farewell."

The late king had also left a written vow, in the care of one of his chaplains, that if it should please God to reestablish him on the throne, he would give back to the church all the impropriations which were held by the crown. While such were his intentions concerning the church, the feelings of the nation were in favor of its reestablishment, but it was impossible to remedy the evils which twenty years of anarchy had produced. A fair promise was held forth, however, in the king's declaration, that the most conciliatory measures should be pursued, and as Charles granted, in its full extent, the indemnity which was offered in this declaration, so it may be affirmed, that he was sincere in promising liberty of conscience; but there never was a time when such tremendous objections existed to this desirable toleration. There had arisen a general and well-founded belief that the Catholics were becoming dangerous; and it had been reported during the king's



exile, that he and his brothers had changed their religion. The Catholics could not agree among themselves, and provoked the ministry to remember that they had treated with Cromwell for taking an oath of submission to his government. The point was still to be settled with the Puritans, and with them it appeared that before the question of toleration was considered, that of power was to be decided. They had a majority in the House of Commons, and formed a committee of religion, before the king's return, meaning to present for his sanction a form of church government conformable to their principles.

At the moment that the cannon announced the king's return, some of the clergy prepared a service of thanksgiving, and a repeal of the laws against the liturgy were not waited for, so certain were the people of its restoration. The king published a declaration, stating that he had commanded the clergy upon both sides to meet and agree, if possible, upon an act of uniformity which might be confirmed in parliament. When the draft of this declaration was shown to the London ministers, it contained a clause in which the

king declared his own constant use of the common prayer, and said he should take it well from those who used it in their churches. The ministers requested that this clause might be omitted ; saying they desired it, that they might better show their obedience and resolution to serve the king. Charles gave them credit for sincerity, and the clause was left out, but a letter was intercepted from a leading minister entreating the people by no means to admit the common prayer, for he made no question but that they should prevail further with the king than he had consented in that declaration. This proof of deceit was followed by an instance of sufficient effrontery to defeat its purpose. A petition was presented, praying that the wearing of the surplice, and the use of the cross in baptism might be absolutely abolished. Attempts at conciliation were still made, and long conferences took place between the bishops and the most eminent of the Presbyterian clergy, of whom Baxter, Reynolds and Calamy were the most conspicuous, but these meetings ended in showing how hopeless it was that any thing like union could be effected. The

same difficulty was found in the way of general toleration, for there were few sects whose opinions were not in the judgment of others, intolerable. A band of levellers sallied out from their meeting-house, and proclaiming King Jesus in the streets of London, killed some twenty men. This explosion, and the discovery of treason, operated grievously against the whole body of dissenters. A new parliament had been called, and the liturgy, confirmed by the king under the great seal, was presented to it and received; and an act of uniformity passed with some clauses which the wisest statesmen disapproved but could not prevent. It was rigorously enforced, and upon St. Bartholomew's day, about two thousand ministers were deprived. The same day had been appointed for the former ejection, when four times as many of the loyal clergy were deprived for fidelity to their sovereign, and no small proportion of the present sufferers had obtained their preferment by means of that tyrannical act. Reynolds conformed, and accepted the see of Norwich, but that of Hereford was refused by Baxter, and that of Litchfield, by Calamy.

The nonconformists being disappointed in their expectations, deliberated whether it were not expedient for them to migrate into Holland or the American colonies. The king was prevailed upon to set forth a declaration wherein his own disapproval of any severities on the score of religion was expressed, and a hope held out, that the laws upon that matter would be amended to the satisfaction of all his subjects. This gave new spirits to the dissenters, but they could not think it lawful that any toleration should be granted to the papists. The danger to the country at that time from the Catholics, was the greatest, but the most remote ; that from the Puritans was not of any long-concerted policy, but some sudden insurrection. An oath was exacted from the sequestered ministers, declaring that it was not lawful to take up arms against the king, and that they would not at any time endeavor an alteration in the government of the church or state. This act was impolitic, because it required a declaration which no dissenter could conscientiously take. A conspiracy was detected, for which eight men were convicted, who confessed that there was

an intention of setting London on fire, on the second of September, as that had been found to be a lucky day, a planet then ruling which prognosticated the downfall of monarchy. The men were executed in April, and on the day which they had specified, the fire of London broke out. The people notwithstanding this confession, were persuaded that London had been burnt by the papists, but the subsequent reaction in their minds had well-nigh brought about the triumph of the Romish cause. When Charles terminated his dissolute life and disgraceful reign in the communion of the Romish church, and his brother who was not only an avowed, but a zealous papist, succeeded to the throne, they considered their ascendancy to be secure.

The clergy whom Charles had promoted, were, with few exceptions, men of the greatest ability and worth, who, while they taught and believed that government is of divine right, neither regarded the sovereign as despotic, nor the people as slaves. They could not be insensible to their danger from a popish successor, and yet they adhered to the principle of constitutional loyalty. The best

traits in the character of the dissenters appeared when it was their turn to suffer ; in fact, none but the better part of them were left, who, for the sake of what they believed to be their duty, were willing to incur the danger of hopeless imprisonment. The crazier sects disappeared, and even the Quakers were settling under a discipline, which from the most extravagant, rendered them the most orderly of men. The Puritans had left the Church of England because it did not, in their opinion, depart sufficiently from the Church of Rome, but now that the danger was imminent, they stood aloof from the struggle, and left the clergy to maintain the Protestant cause. Happily, they were equal to this duty. The Romanists proceeded in the full assurance of success, and when the French thanked Louis XIV., for having rooted out heresy from his dominions, they added, that one further glory was reserved for him, that of lending his aid to reduce England into the pale of the Catholic Church.

The better to secure his end, James promoted in the church such persons as he thought would be most pliable, and appoint-

ed a commission for inquiring into, and punishing ecclesiastical offences. The primate and two bishops were made members of this. Sancroft, the primate, was a man of sterling worth, and seventy years had not abated the vigor of his understanding. He was satisfied that the appointment was not legal, and declined it on the plea of his infirmities. He received a letter from the princess of Orange, expressing her satisfaction of his conduct, which he said "put new life into an old man ready to sink under the double burden of age and sorrow." The measures of the court were such, at that time, as to justify the darkest forebodings. A papist was appointed dean of Christ Church, but the fellows of Magdalen College, made a noble stand against a similar nomination. At Cambridge, also, the king was opposed with equal firmness. He found in the clergy a steady and principled resistance, and when he ordered them to read in all their pulpits a Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, the point was brought to an issue. In this declaration James suspended all penal laws in matters of religion, and abolished all tests. Sancroft

consulted on this occasion with the most eminent clergy, among whom were Tillotson, Stillingfleet and Sherlock. They drew up a petition, beseeching that the king would not insist upon their distributing and reading the declaration. Sancroft was forbidden to appear at Whitehall, but the rest of the bishops immediately went to present it to the king. James took it graciously, but his countenance darkened as he read, and folding up the paper, he said, "These are strange words. This is a standard of rebellion." They answered, "That they had adventured their lives for his majesty, and would lose the last drop of their blood, rather than lift up a finger against him." "I tell you," he repeated, "that this is a standard of rebellion. Is this what I have deserved, who have supported the Church of England, and will support it. I will be obeyed in publishing my declaration." The king was mistaken concerning the principles of the clergy. There were only four in London who read the declaration, and not more than two hundred in the kingdom. James, after much perplexity and indecision, summoned the seven bishops who had signed



the obnoxious petition, to appear before him. Many attempts were made to compel them to yield; but they continued firm, and were committed to the Tower. Popular feeling had seldom been more worthily excited, than on this memorable occasion. As the bishops proceeded down the river to their place of confinement, the banks were crowded with spectators, who knelt and asked their blessing, and some, even of the officers to whose charge they were committed, in like manner besought their benediction. They, the while, exhorted the people to fear God; honor the king, and maintain their loyalty.

When the prelates were brought before the Court of King's Bench, they were saluted with acclamations, and with fervent prayers. On their way from the river side to Westminster Hall, they passed through a lane of people, who kissed their hands and their garments, and begged their blessing.

They pleaded "not guilty," to the charge of having consulted and conspired to diminish the royal authority. That day fortnight was fixed for the trial, and they were then admitted to bail. St. Peter's day, happened to be

the time appointed for the trial, and it was supposed that it had been chosen, that the influence of the apostle might be exerted in behalf of his Romish successors. The counsel for the accused maintained that their petition was neither false nor libellous; it was humbly and respectfully expressed, and presented privately, in the exercise of their right as subjects, of their duty as bishops. The charge against them was, for attempting to diminish the king's prerogative. The only part of his prerogative to which this petition referred, was his dispensing power, and that was a power, they contended, which the king of England neither did, nor could possess. The trial lasted the whole day, and at evening the jury retired. At six in the morning, the single juryman who had, till then, held out, yielded to the determination of his fellows, and a verdict of "not guilty," was returned. It was received with a shout which seemed to shake the Hall. The prelates, with a feeling of becoming gratitude, went immediately to the Whitehall Chapel, to return thanks. All the churches were filled with people who crowded them with the same

intent; the bells rung from every tower, every house was illuminated, and bonfires were kindled in every street. Medals were struck in honor of the event, and portraits published of men, who were compared to "the seven golden candlesticks," and called "the seven stars of the Protestant Church." When the king asked the cause of this rejoicing, he was told that it was for nothing but the acquittal of the bishops. "Do you call that nothing," he replied; "but so much the worse for them." Persisting in his purpose, he dismissed the two judges who had delivered their opinion in favor of the bishops, and required the names of all the clergy who had omitted to read his declaration. Sancroft had shown himself ready to suffer, and he now came forward with equal resolution to act. He issued admonitions to the clergy, enjoining them, four times in the year, at least, to teach and inform the people, that all usurped and foreign jurisdiction had been for most just causes taken away and abolished in the realm, and that no subjection was due to it, or to any who pretended to act by virtue of it. They were to persuade the people

upon all occasions, to obedience to his majesty, in whatever was lawful, and to patient submission in the rest; and to caution them against all seducers, especially against the popish emissaries, who were now in great numbers gone forth, more busy and active than ever. Lastly, they were charged to walk in wisdom, towards those who were not of their communion, but especially to their brethren, the Protestant dissenters, and they were to take all opportunities of assuring them that the bishops of the English church are irreconcilable enemies to the errors, superstitions, and idolatries of the Romish church.

The more moderate and reasonable dissenters were now awake to their danger. They felt how much more important were the points in which they agreed with the church, than those on which they differed, and the scheme of comprehension was revived with more probability of success, than on any former occasion. But the course of events brought on a more violent crisis, than Sancroft could approve. Men who were more of statesmen than divines, were in correspondence with the prince of Orange, and prepa-

rations were made in Holland, for an expedition, upon which the fate of the Protestant cause depended.

When James received the first certain intelligence of this danger, he was overwhelmed with fear, and declared that he was willing to do every thing for the safety and advantage of his loving subjects. He sent also for the bishops and assured them of his favor; they were introduced by Sancroft, who, after a speech not unworthy of the occasion, with the king's leave, read the humble advice of himself and his brethren, which was to this purport: "That he would annul the ecclesiastical commission, that the president and fellows of Magdalen College might be restored, that he would inhibit the four foreign bishops, who styled themselves vicars apostolical, from farther invading the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and that he would issue writs for the calling a free and regular parliament in which the Church of England might be secured. They requested that he would permit them to offer such arguments as they trusted might be effectual in persuading him to return to the communion of that church, in which, said they,

you were baptized, and to which it is our daily earnest prayer that you may be reunited."

James received this advice as if he were sensible of its value, and promised to observe it. The promise was sincere, for he reëstablished the fellows of Magdalen, and restored the corporations; but it was too late. As the danger drew nearer, James required the bishops to draw up a paper expressing their abhorrence of the intended invasion of the prince of Orange. The prelates had not joined in the invitation which had been extended to William, but their course was a difficult one. What the king desired was, that they should put forth the whole influence of the church against an expedition which was undertaken for its preservation, and that of the Protestant cause. They answered, "That as bishops they would assist him with their prayers, and as peers they entreated they might serve him, either by speedily calling a parliament, or by assembling with as many of the temporal lords as were then in London."

When it was known that the prince of Orange had effected a landing, this assembly was convened, and joined in address to the

king, stating, that in their opinion, the only visible way for preserving himself and the kingdom, would be the calling of a parliament, regular and free in all its circumstances. He asked, in reply, "How it was possible a parliament should be free in all its circumstances, when an enemy was in the kingdom, who could make a return there of nearly a hundred voices?"

A few days afterwards, he summoned the parliament, but the writs had not been issued when he fled from London, and Sancroft, with other spiritual and temporal peers, joined in applying to the prince of Orange to call one. Thus far the primate aided in the Revolution; no further. James, after his final flight, wrote to that prelate, saying, that he had intended to lay before him the grounds and motives of his conversion to the Roman Catholic religion, and expressing his esteem and friendship for his character.

Upon the important question of settling the government which now ensued, the great body of the clergy agreed in opinion with the primate, that the best course was to declare the king incapable of the government, and to

appoint the prince of Orange to carry it on in his own right and name. Only two bishops voted for filling up the throne, nine against it; and when the oath of allegiance to William and Mary was to be taken, these nine prelates refused to take it. Among those who chose to incur the penalty of deprivation, rather than transfer their allegiance, were five of those seven bishops to whose magnanimous resistance the nation was mainly indebted for its deliverance from an arbitrary government and a persecution in religion.

About four hundred of the clergy followed their example. Popery was pronounced inconsistent with the English constitution, and the national voice admitted the justice and necessity of the law by which all papists were forever excluded from a succession to the crown. The government long treated the non-jurors with tenderness, and long put off the deprivation which it was at length compelled to pronounce. As their opinions were not connected with any political or religious enthusiasm, there was nothing to perpetuate them, and the non-jurors died



away long before the house of Stuart was extinct.

From the time of the Revolution, the Church of England has preserved both stability and security. It has rescued that country, first from heathenism, then from papal idolatry and superstition, and it has saved it from temporal as well as spiritual despotism. Slowly and firmly it has been established in America, where each year it is increasing in strength and influence. The Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States is still one in heart with the mother church. Let its members, while they review the struggles and sacrifices through which their own exalted privileges have been obtained, lift up their thanksgiving to Him who overrules the events of nations for the welfare and prosperity of the kingdom of Christ.



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*In the second volume of the Life of Dr. ADAM CLARKE (p. 72), we find the following notice of Mr. HERBERT.*

——“On the road we passed by (I think it is called) Layton Church, where that blessed man of God, Mr. HERBERT, author of the most excellent collection of poems, republished by Mr. Edwards, formerly preached. The mere sight of the place where such an eminent minister of God hath dispensed the word of life, impressed my mind with solemnity and reverence.”









